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3 November 1981

East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1937

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CONTENTS

BULGARIA

Impressions From a Visit to America
(Gencho Uzanov; STURSHEL, 4 Sep 81) 1

Jewish Delegation Visits Israel
(Avraham Tirosh; MA'ARIV, 25 Oct 81) 4

Biographical Profile of Deputy Defense Minister Admiral Dobrev
(Dobrev Interview; BULGARSKI VOIN, No 8, 1981) 6

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Salvadoran Delegate's Allegations of CB Warfare in El Salvador
(Maria Teresa Martinez Interview; PRACA, 14 Oct 81) 12

POLAND

Situation in Poland, Solidarity Discussed
(TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, 7 Aug 81) 14

Military Officers Comment on Reform Movement
(Marek Jakubowski Interview; ZOLNIERZ POLSKI, 5 Jul 81) 68

YUGOSLAVIA

'TANJUG' Reports on Tetovo SAWP Presidum Session
(Tanjug Domestic Service, 15 Oct 81) 72

Briefs
Kicevo Meeting 73

IMPRESSIONS FROM A VISIT TO AMERICA

Sofia STURSHEL in Bulgarian 4 Sep 81 p 4

[Article by Gencho Uzanov, deputy chief editor of STURSHEL. For Parts I and II see JPRS 79215 of 15 October 1981, No 1928 of this series, pp 8-14]

[Text] It is natural for people to show interest in America--this strange, distant, unknown, contradictory world. It is natural also that people have difficulties in understanding some of the data and figures, some of the impressions of those who live there, have spent some time in that country. It is natural for people to ask questions, to draw comparisons, or to have some reservations about what has been said or written. Many people, months after our return from there, continue to inquire in detail about matters which on first sight are quite clear. Thus, for instance, they are interested in the meaning--$900-a month paid to unemployed people. What they probably do is to convert the dollars into Bulgarian money and come up with puzzling results. In other words they start figuring out the amount of goods one can buy with these $900 in our Korekoms [stores selling Western consumer goods against foreign currency], how many pairs of jeans and parfums one could buy. And they reflect: "In these days to be unemployed in America is not that bad!" However, their calculations are not quite accurate. In the first place we said that this assistance to unemployed is given for a period from 6 to 9 months, while a year (including the American year) lasts, as is well known, 12 months. Next, the dollar in America has a different value. For instance, in America a Coca Cola costs $1.50. Now try to figure out how many cokes could an unemployed buy with these $900. What about the rent or housing costs! What about clothing and transportation costs! What about taxes! What about the humiliations...! I must tell you that nothing could be more depressing than being unemployed in America amidst all the glowing displays and countless riches, a country of natural beauties and places of entertainment.

I have also been asked many questions about the opportunities for the individual in that country. We said that "the opportunities for every individual are various and that to a large extent they depend on his abilities. Only one thing is required--to hack it. One more thing--he should not have a favorable attitude toward those horrible political regimes in the East, or be suspect for such an attitude because the managements of large corporations would rather not hire such people. People further ask: But America is famous as the "country of unlimited opportunities?" This is quite clear. Industry and agriculture are being automated, the management process is being computerized, business and

transportation as well, and, as a result, many people are unceremoniously layed off. Therefore, it is difficult to find jobs. The corporations are after large profits, nothing else matters to them. They pile up, pile up, pile up...countless profits, unemployment, and worries for the man of the street. Yet, the ordinary man in America would also like to lead a normal life, to have some security in his job, he too wants to give an education to his children and see them with good and secure jobs. This is why if he is employed and makes some money he immediately starts saving some money, or he will go into heavy debt to obtain the necessary loans in order to send his children to college where the tuition fees are quite high and support costs escalating.

As one can see, all these situations are incomprehensible to a person from a socialist country: countless riches in the hands of a greedy and pampered minority, and hardship and worries for the ordinary working person. (Well, after all, is it not necessary to throw billions of dollars against the "Soviet threat!")

Thus, on the eve of the New Year's holidays the people in the three areas we visited in America were in fact living with the hope that something might change. In New York, despite the low temperatures, the streets were festively decorated and, during the day, crowded with people who were noisy and in a hurry, a colorful crowd. The workers' strike at the Metropolitan Opera ended and the lights were glowing again. The holiday shows "Christ Is Born" and "Tales From the Entire World," whose technical staging and performance are fantastic, were going on in the world famous "Radio City." The solemn services were going on in the churches. Luxury limousines, carrying ladies and gentlemen, crimson with excitement and happiness, and who have already forgiven each other their sins, covered in expensive fur coats and with a feeling of contempt for the surrounding filthy world, were zooming along the avenues and streets in between traffic lights. Hundreds of tourists in groups were in hotels, department stores, entertainment spots, museums and other places of interest. Rastropovich and Bella Davidova, who left their motherland, were performing their concerts in the capital; Mark Eliezerovich, from a motley stall in Chinatown, was selling Russian dolls to passers-by, while in the taverns of the Bronx unhappy refugees were lamenting their fate with the oldest romances of Mother Russia with the accompaniment of balalaykas. Then there were the unemployed, the homeless, those who went bankrupt, the destitute and adherents of all sorts of religious sects who, for hours on their knees in praying postures, were just hanging behind their rags, carefully arranged in their "domiciles" on the sidewalks, or at street corners, or on the frozen ground in public parks. One feels that they were perhaps the only ones to remember the Ten Commandments nowdays. As if all the others were rushing to violate at least some of the Ten Commandments for good luck in the coming New Year.

In Washington, which is a city with a more sedate spirit, whose buildings are not so tall, with more trees and park areas, a capital city which is more spread-out, the mood was also festive but there was, at the same time, a tactile apprehensive expectation for something new. Along Pennsylvania Avenue, from the Capital to the White House, preparations for the inauguration of the new president were nearing completion and even rehearsals were under way. Along with other curious news

items the papers were also writing that while Carter (because he was, perhaps, nervous, or for some other reason) went skiing and broke his collar-bone, Reagan was strenuously preparing for his presidential honeymoon. (We now know that this honeymoon was not after all that pleasant).

Everything was like a premiere performance of a musical; you know the music, the actors, the subject, the hall in which it will be performed as well as the stage.... The only thing you do not know is what is going on behind the scenes, the kind of nonsense the producers might stage and the public's reaction. We already know. The world is not enchanted. Nations are protesting. They do not want any tutelage. They do not want to live amidst the explosions of deadly warheads. They know better than certain bellicose politicians that even the most accomplished computers can err, to say nothing about some hot heads. And then, our wonderful planet, in a few seconds only, can become an uninhabitable poisonous ash-heap. And then, perhaps, there will be no one left to tell about the precious intellectual and material wealth that once existed, a wealth created by the mind and golden hands of man-constructor. We spoke with many Americans; the majority among them are oppressed by the vision of that alternative rather than by some imaginary outside menaces.

The American, like any other person, loves his motherland, he is proud of the beautiful in it and, he is also uneasy about the shortcomings. We already talked about the unrestrained criminality, about the difficulties of finding a job, about the elevation of the dollar as some kind of an idol, about the homeless men, about the imaginary threat of communism....

CSO: 2200/14

JEWISH DELEGATION VISITS ISRAEL

TA251234 Tel Aviv MA'ARIV in Hebrew 25 Oct 81 p 6

[Report by Avraham Tirosh]

[Excerpts] The Jewish community in Bulgaria, which numbers approximately 5,000 people, is economically prosperous and its members have no intention of immigrating to Israel. This was stated by (Abraham Kalo), the secretary of the Bulgarian Jewish community's Public Cultural Organization, who arrived in Israel last night together with an eight-member delegation to mark the 1,300th anniversary of the establishment of the Bulgarian monarchy.

The delegation arrived in Israel at the invitation of the Israeli Public Committee in honor of the 1,300th anniversary of the establishment of Bulgaria.

The head of the delegation, (Zdravko Mitlovsky), the acting chairman of the National Council of the Bulgarian "Fatherland Front" noted that no meeting with Israeli officials has been set for the delegation and added that neither does it carry any official message, except for the announcement of Bulgarian President Todor Zhivkov that "his country is active in taking measures to maintain peace and strengthen it throughout the world."

(Crigor Grigorov), the head of the Bulgarian Cultural Committee's Department for International Ties made it clear that his department maintains friendship and culture ties with more than 40 organizations all over the world. Subsequently, official Bulgarian delegations will visit various countries throughout the world on the occasion of the anniversary of the establishment of the Bulgarian state.

The "Fatherland Front" comprises more than 4.2 million Bulgarians. It was established in 1942 by then leader Georgi Dimitrov with the aim of uniting the Bulgarian people in their war against the Nazi conqueror.

Various organizations in Bulgaria are members of the "Front," including the Public Culture Organization of the Jewish community.

Mr (Mitlovsky) emphasized that there is no contradiction in terms of marking the occasion and the fact that Bulgaria is a communist country. He claims that marking the 1,300th anniversary of the establishment of the Bulgarian empire shows the

continuity of the Bulgarian people's existence and proves that its traditional values have been reinforced after the institution of the communist regime.

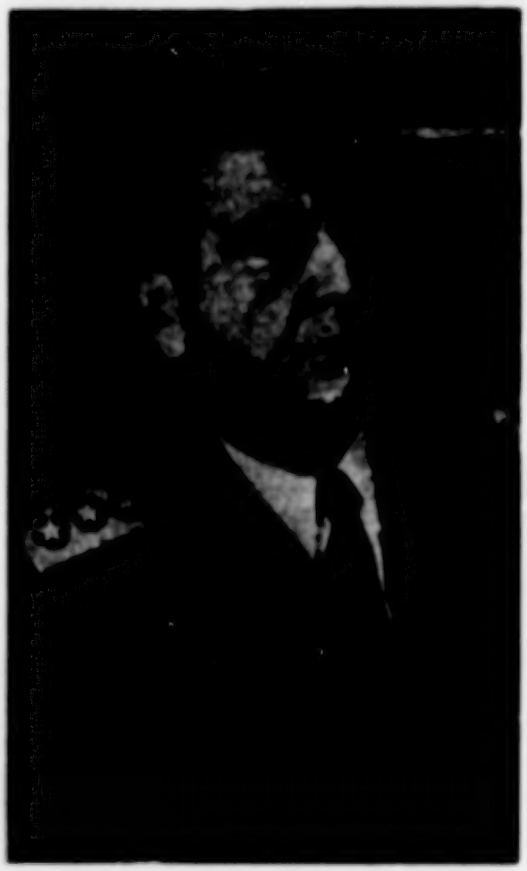
The delegation, six of whose members are theater actors and singers, will remain in Israel about 10 days and will participate in rallies in Haifa, Nazareth and other cities. The central rally will be held in Bat Yam. The members of the delegation will also visit public institutions as well as cultural sites and will meet with public figures.

CSO: 2200/18

BIOGRAPHICAL PROFILE OF DEPUTY DEFENSE MINISTER ADMIRAL DOBREV

Sofia BULGARSKI VOIN in Bulgarian No 8, 81 pp 23, 24

[Interview with Admiral Dobrev, deputy defense minister, date and place not given: "The Party in my Life."]



[Text] B. V:"Comrade Admiral, what were the motives that made you adopt communism, become a member of the BCP and actively participate in the party struggle and its constructive work after the victory of the socialist revolution?

Admiral Dobrev: As concerns communism, I may say that it was inherited, a family duty, a family honor as I grew up in a communist environment. My father was an old communist, a member of the party since 1925. I was the youngest of five children and all five of us were influenced by our father. He was a stern man, stern and tough I should say, a product of poverty and deprivation. We also inherited from him the striving for education. He has had only 4 years of schooling but at that time this was considered enough.

My grandfather was one of the founders of the village school and my father subsequently became a school board member, an activist in school affairs. He and my uncle Karamphil were well known with their beautiful handwriting. My father considered it a must that all his children receive at least progymnasium [middle school] education. So, my brother Stoyan Dobrev, known by the pseudonum Strandzhata, graduated from the progymnasium and became a type setter and a noted

leader in the RMS [Workers' Youth Union]. My sister Kina went to high school but got sick in her sophomore year. Later on came my turn to study.

In my childhood, in the first years of awareness and perception, my brother was already a member of the Komsomol. My father was the party secretary in the village and in fact the creator of the party organization. When they had their meetings we were usually guarding the door and watching in the yard. We were always interested in the work of the adults and had access to the party press. There, the influence of my father and my older brothers and sisters encouraged me to think like them. It would have been unnatural for me not to become a communist. Every time Stoyan came back to the village and we went to the fields, he talked and read to us about the Soviet Union. He used to explain to us that there they ploughed with tractors and harvested with combines, that they had collectivization and that the people were free. In 1934 I was still in the village, and Stoyan sent me a post card with the portrait of Georgi Dimitrov, wishing me to become a real communist like him. Unfortunately, everything we had at that time was confiscated and destroyed during the many police searches of the house. We were very young when we were already called "the communists" because of my father who was known as Kenar Dobri the communist, or the Endmost Dobri, because our house was at the end of the village.

My father came back from town once and said that Stoyan had been arrested by the police, very badly beaten and kicked out in the street. My mother started to cry and my father tried to console her saying: "Well, that is how communists become tough." My brother Khristo and I went to bed, hugged each other and said to each other: "We are also communist like daddy and our big brother." We woke up next morning feeling six feet tall, willing to show that we were worth noticing. There, this is the material of which we were made, as the saying goes.

As a student in the Varna gymnasium I became very friendly with Mikho Lefterov, who was also in the army until 1957 as leader of the political section, as well as with Marin Bangiev and Iliya Dikov, and others. At that time I also struck a very solid friendship with Zdravko Bombov. I was also friendly with Vulkan Stoyanov, Stoyan Vlaev, Vulcho Ivanov, Yordan Dobrev, Nedyalko Milushev and Kosta Yankov, a co-partisan later on. However, I was most strongly influenced in the gymnasium by Georgi Grigorov, who became the commanding officer of our combat group, one of the first in the country in 1941. We were very much impressed by his knowledge and skill to express himself stressing always the gist of the matter.

My sister married when I could be together with Stoyan and my brother-in-law Kolyo. Kolyo was a metal worker and a party functionary, a communist, a product of his class as one says. This family environment was also leaving its mark on the molding of my ideas.

Working with all those people made me feel that I also carried great responsibility concerning the party. This gave me self-confidence. As an underground worker by then, I was sent in 1942 to meet an old communist of the village of Banovo. He asks me: "What are you, who are you, how old are you?" "I am twenty years old," I say. "Last year I was convicted but did not get the death sentence because I was a minor." "Have you served in the army?" "No," I say, "I had to join but I ran away from the committee." And he then said: "Listen, young fellow, I will give you a loaf of bread and you better go, as I don't want to have anything to do with children."

When I went, however, to the following one, I told him that I was a candidate non-commissioned officer, and have run away from the army. He says, "So we have loyal people in the army too..."

During this period I was in direct contact with the okrug administrations of the RMS and the party, their secretaries and members were the people who influenced me directly. As an underground worker and a partisan I worked together with Stoyko Peev and after his death, with Lambo Teolov and Borachev.

B.V.: Comrade Admiral, could you imagine your life today without the influence of the party, without being a party member? Do you think that you could devote your efforts and life to some other ideal?

Admiral Dobrev: At present the answer comes naturally. However, I have also asked myself sometimes, how and with what I would start if I had to start from the beginning. I cannot imagine my life to be different, I simply cannot. I have had, of course, all kinds of dreams, mainly in my youth. As I already mentioned, my brother used to talk quite often about the Soviet Union, about collectivization, tractors and combines. Being a country child, I quite often saw myself at that time as an agronomist. Upon the insistence of my father and uncle and also through my desire, I even applied to the economic school in Sadovo, Plovdiv Okrug. There were many candidates and although one of the teachers said that I did very well scholastically, I was not accepted. It was obvious that connections were needed as well as good grades. Later on I became a lathe apprentice; I liked to recite poems by Smirnenski and Yavorov; in the workers' clubs I was known as the tiny metal worker. I wanted, however, to continue my studies. My father became ambitious, scooped up some money from here and there to pay my tuition and I enrolled in the Varna gymnasium. In the three years as underground worker and in the partisan detachment I was involved a great deal in military training but I never expected to join the military as a career. The party, however, did not let us go after the victory and sent us into the army. I should not say that the party sent us to the army, it simply kept us in its military detachment, as we were its soldiers in the ranks of NOVA [People's Liberation Army].

In the beginning I was sent to attend a course for battalion commanders. One of our instructors was General Zahariev whom we considered a foremost authority—it is no joke to be a hero of the Soviet Union. And he often said, you cannot imagine how much I need young majors like you for air force commanders because now we are going to start developing our new air force. I was all excited but the medical commission found something wrong with my hearing and I was dropped. Infantry did not attract me, I would have preferred even cavalry as I was a very good horseman but being from Varna I was sent to the navy. As you can see I have had many professions but always within the ranks of the party. My ideals have always been connected with the interests of the party, with its specific and future policy. We had to fight against Fascism and we did. We had to stay in the army and we did. It could not have been otherwise. We were and still are soldiers of the party.

B.V.: You told us extensively about the influence of the people who had helped you become a communist. Tell us, if you please, have there been any cases in which you have helped others to embrace the communist ideals?

Admiral Dobrev: All my life I have been among RMS members and communists. We had very few non-party members in the partisan detachment. There were, however, communists, who needed help, especially during the difficult years. One of our comrades, a member of the underground, a partisan and sentenced to death at that, had a depression and doubted our victory. Others, not of our detachment, admitted their doubt and withdrew from the fight. He was, however, with us and needed constant help in order to overcome those temporary moods. Another of our commanding officers did not want to give the partisan oath. As concerns oaths, I have given my oath twice, both times to the king, Boris and to that little one. And what happened? I gave my oath and yet I am now in the detachment. You think I will give myself up to the enemy, he says, I have two death sentences, and now another oath. We had just put together the wording of the oath and liked it very much. Reading it was like a real ritual. Together with the commissar it took me a long time to convince him but finally he agreed to be sworn in. And then, he burst into tears, hugged me, shook me--he was a husky fellow--and said: "O, it is different now, I don't know why, but deep inside I feel completely different." He was recklessly courageous, devoted to the party and unfortunately died early.

I have had many such cases. As an underground worker, following the instructions of the okrug committee, I had to attract to our work many old party members who had dropped from the party in 1923 simply because they were afraid. This was an organizational work for protecting and strengthening the party organizations as well as increasing them. For this reason, the party organizations and later on the fatherland front organizations in the Varna Okrug were strong and the partisan movement relied mainly on them.

After the victory I went to study in the Soviet Union and during that time I was placed in charge of the party organization and became a member of the party okrug committee and its bureau. I have always tried to fulfill the cadre policy of the party, a struggle for each individual but also a struggle for loyalty of the cadres. This has always been my principle when expressing an opinion and accepting or expelling party members. And due to this policy our party does not have and will never have any difficulties as to training and loyalty of its members.

B.V.: Comrade Admiral, would you share with us your opinion of the contribution of the BCP to your moral and spiritual achievements and your examplary qualifications as an individual?

Admiral Dobrev: I have quite a few years behind me and I must have by now a well-shaped character. I have been a member of the BCP since 1942. Looking back I can judge what I was and what I have achieved. I am a military man and a communist and I owe my career to the party. The party has always been my guiding light and has uninterruptedly contributed to my spiritual growth. I have always had many shortcomings, personal as well as in my relations with others, I have made fast decisions, not always just decisions and, if you wish, I have even been rude. I can say that I have never been punished by the party. Well, it has not been all smooth, I have been scolded now and then but I have always been given a chance to correct my mistakes.

The party has always trusted me and it is exactly this trust that has embedded in me high standards as far as I am concerned. I am very self critical. For example, when I was elected a member of the okrug committee, for me, to be a member of the

okrug administration has always been a big thing, especially having as models people like Stoyan Pavlov, Georgi Kastov, my brother Stoyan, Soyko Peev, Lambi Teolov and others.

I became a fleet commander just before I was elected to the okrug committee. For me so far the ultimate goal for a navy man is to command a ship, a big ship or a squadron; these are positions, so to speak, which I would have preferred. However, for me my appointment as a commanding officer meant the greatest trust bestowed upon me on the part of the party.

In 1962 I was elected deputy to the National Assembly and an alternate member of the Central Committee of the BCP. I said to myself at that time: There, you are now becoming an object of criticism and attention, and do you have the necessary qualifications? And I answered to myself: If I don't have them, I must have them. I have to acquire them, to create them in me, to justify the trust. In this manner, the party, trusting me, making me grow, has always made me more critical concerning my qualifications, and has given me the impetus to improve. Therefore, I think I have grown together with the party, that I owe to the party absolutely everything.

Todor Zhivkov with high ranking military officials--delegates to 12th Party Congress

1010
CSO: 2200/3

SALVADORAN DELEGATE'S ALLEGATIONS OF CB WARFARE IN EL SALVADOR

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 14 Oct 81 p 2

[Interview with Maria Teresa Martinez, Salvadoran delegate to the World Congress of Women held in Prague 8-13 October 1981, by L. Stoupova: "Salvadoran People Face Violence--They Need Help"]

[Text] A seven-member delegation from El Salvador has participated at the World Congress of Women. We asked one of them, Maria Teresa Martinez, a few questions.

[Question] What meaning does your participation in the Prague congress have?

[Answer] This is the first time I have attended such world forum of women. Our delegation came to Prague with three main objectives. Primarily we wanted to inform world's women about the situation in our country; to denounce the genocide carried out by the fascist regime and to ask for a widespread solidarity campaign in support of the Salvadoran people's struggle. The suffering of the people under the dictatorship of the fascist junta is immense. In the past 2 years, the struggle of the people against the internal oligarchy, as well as against the policy of imperialism, took lives of 30,000 persons. The United States supports the rule of violence and crime not only politically and economically, but also militarily. The fascists had tortured more than 2,000 women and massacred their corpses. Among these were mostly representatives of the revolutionary liberation movement, women trade unionists, who actively fought against the junta. According to the latest news, decapitated and quartered corpses have been found. Among the victims of these atrocities have also been old people and children. The junta is trying to scare people, so that they refuse support to the liberation movement. But they have been unsuccessful. The fascist hordes are facing the masses. The Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front together with the Revolutionary Democratic Front have a large hinterland. Determination and courage will be undefeated even by the biological and chemical weapons which are used against them.

[Question] Could you tell us a few words about your activity?

[Answer] I am a worker and former trade union functionary. Currently, I have been living in exile. Forgive me, but I will not reveal to you the place of my residence. My family--husband and adult children--stayed in our native country. I fear the junta might persecute them. The trade unions work in semi-illegality. In spite of the fact that many of the top functionaries have been murdered and trade unionists have been persecuted, they have managed to carry on the struggle against inhumanity and lawlessness even under the current difficult conditions. They organize meetings and strive to put through some of the workers' demands.

Most of all they want a permission for legal activities of the trade union movement. I left for exile not because of fear of the junta, but because I was assigned by our organization to do so. My duty, similarly as that of other "refugees," is to organize abroad committees of solidarity with the Salvadoran people, to obtain for them moral and material help. Our men, women and children need medicines and clothing. However, we have been unable to send anything but a very few things. It cannot be done either via the Red Cross, or via the Salvadoran Green Cross.

[Question] You have participated in the congress' session of the Women and Labor Commission. What did you talk about during your presentation?

[Answer] About the terror I already have mentioned. Also, about our goal to liberate the country. However, this cannot be done unless one is free from capitalism, which also exploits women. Their working conditions are very difficult in El Salvador. They begin working at the age of 10, both in household and employment. In the countryside, average daily wages amount to maximum $1.50 and employment opportunities exist only seasonally. We do not want a war, but we cannot go on living unless fascism and genocide are defeated. We ask the entire world, all progressive forces, to denounce the rule of violence and crime, to support the struggle of our people for freedom and a happy life in our country.

CSO: 2400/35

SITUATION IN POLAND, SOLIDARITY DISCUSSED

Warsaw TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Polish No 19, 7 Aug 81 Insert pp 1-16

[The following text issues from a tape transcript. The statements were not authorized. The discussion was transcribed by the Solidarity Press Information Bureau [BIPS]. Text prepared by TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC.]

> [Text] In the previous issue of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC we published a report and documents from a meeting of the National Consultative Commission [KKP] which was held in Gdansk from 24-26 July. Today, in accordance with a KKP resolution, we are publishing the proceedings of the basic discussion which ensued on the subject of the situation in the country and in the union [Independent, Self-Government Trade Union (NSZZ) Solidarity] during the second day of the sessions. This discussion, which was interrupted due to the necessity of resolving most pressing matters, is to be continued at the next KKP meeting.

Andrzej Celinski
Secretary, KKW [National Voivodship Commission], Gdansk:

I believe there are some people who are obsessed--in the union press as well--these terribly brave people today, who sat at home and did not let out a squeak a year ago and who now must, perhaps because they sat silent and feel bad when people begin to ask them "What did you do?" They must react to the silence, to this detraction of their dignity which was intact a year ago. In my opinion, it is natural that society should experience a certain amount of shock and confusion, but not the National Commission [KK]. If it is considered to be necessary for the country to be reminded of all these things, along with sketches of Katyn etc., etc., then let it be decided consciously that this is necessary, and let its relationship to other requests and demands be determined.

We may not simply assume that we have the right, we have freedom of speech, and so forth. This should be the result of a definite accounting, it should be subordinated to a definite strategy of action, to definite goals. I am of the opinion that this should have no part in things, or at least that it should not be so casual. I would expect that, here at least, conscious decisions would be made, and I would particularly expect the KK to be aware of the hierarchy of goals, demands and tasks of Solidarity. And so I greatly fear that what I call the actions of those obsessed now find great favor with society, because they are reactions to

certain stresses felt earlier. But in the situation of the collapse of this state one question will be asked: "What did you do in the face of the collapse?" and not "What did you do in your publications?" The moods of society can very quickly turn. History provides us with cases of the most wonderful movements and the most wonderful leaders perishing overnight.

To digress to another matter. The union attaches very great importance to matters of personnel, since there exists something in the nature of a dogma of the infallibility of the KK. Everything which does not succeed for us is the fault of particular people who merely push their own private interests, are incompetent, incapable.

I want to say that for a long time the shortcomings of the system in which we lived were blamed on the notion that the people were bad, and so after [the events of] August we began to remove people from their positions, giving very little thought to the fact that these people acted on the basis of ironclad logic. They could not do otherwise. And that it may be like the French Revolution, in which three successive provisions commissions which looked for food in Paris were guillotined for hoarding. Although this was false, these particular people had to bear the blame for everything.

I do not want us to make the same mistake that we made privately before August. We should not personalize or personify excessively the bad things which are happening in the union. Rather, we should think about structure, goals, methods and we should do less searching for scapegoats.

This union, in my opinion, is certainly self-governing, but it is certainly not independent. Practically speaking, if in the history of this union there have been four major conflicts with the authorities, confrontational conflicts, then each of these conflicts--if not the subject, then the place and time--was designated by the authorities, and in each of these conflicts we were not independent. We did not plan the conflicts. Except for August itself, when the union did not yet exist, we basically did not plan what we were going to fight about. And here I would like to say that it was no accident that the only defense, practically speaking, which the union has had and still has today--although it is significantly weakened--is the strike and that essentially the only things which we have carried out have been in a confrontation situation.

I think that this, to a certain extent, has also been the result of the lack of planning of our tasks. And so, concerning the very machinery of provocation, I would like, for a moment, to recall the Bydgoszcz affair, since before long we will face the next confrontation and it will certainly not pass us by. We can even anticipate the plane of this confrontation, perhaps even its time. In light of this, our experience gained from the Bydgoszcz affair may be essential to the union.

And so--albeit in banal and a truism, the Bydgoszcz affair showed us that there are also centers of authority which aim at confrontation. Perhaps they are quite aware of what comes next, what follows the confrontation. The congress saw to it that these elements as well would retain their place. It can be said that Solidarity is in a position to bring about the unearthing of the important elements of this machinery of provocation, but it can also be said that the authorities are not able to hold those who implemented it ultimately responsible.

I think that, in particular, the Bydgoszcz affair demonstrated that the union is strong enough to resol[illegible] a conflict which tends toward total confrontation. Here I envision four reason[illegible] this capability of the union:

1) the consolidation o[illegible] society around the whole of Solidarity as the guarantor of the democratic direction of the changes in public life in Poland;

2) society's confidence in the leadership's undertaking of tasks, despite the internal divisiveness within this leadership. I think that society has regarded this leadership all along as one whole and I think that this is not a bad thing for us;

3) the mitigating activity of the [Catholic] Church, in particular its hierarchy;

4) the lack of another real political perspective in this country other than a concept which is in a position to maintain relative social calm.

But it seems to me that each successive crisis--there have been four and their course can be followed--which is resolved in a compromise exhausts the power of the union more and more. The Warsaw agreement has been the most far-reaching of the three (I do not count August) great crises since August, bringing us the greatest gains. I think that, from the perspective of these 3 or 4 months since the Warsaw agreement, I have the right to say this. But I think that this crisis, at the same time, cost us the most, and that the union emerges from each successive crisis more and more weakened and also--in my opinion--that such a solution weakens the effect of the moderating tasks of the Catholic Church hierarchy. Perhaps this is too bold a thesis, but this is my opinion. Doubtless, the impatience of society, which is calling for decisive consistency in the effort to find ways of extricating ourselves for the constantly worsening situation of our country, is growing.

I understand "decisively" and "consistently" to mean not dropping issues taken up by the union. Until this time we have taken up a matter, approaching it and battling over it as the whole union, and the entire leadership has been involved in one issue. But when new demands arose, regardless of whether the old ones had been met, work on the old demands was left half-done. It is disconcerting that in a union with 10 million members, every issue that arises must be settled by all: we are all involved in determining the union's foreign policy, we are all involved in work with polygraph machines, we are all involved in the work-free Saturdays issue, etc., etc. It is the same for both internal and external matters. This is simply incompetence on our part, nothing more.

The next point: such a crisis is followed by the polarization of positions in the union leadership with regard to the ways to resolve the crisis. And there is also something which is perhaps much more important than the very polarization of positions--quarrels over a concept give way to personal quarrels, something which certainly does not foster the building of the union's program, but causes it to explode from within. Such quarrels are not backed up by clearly articulated concepts. There has been no discussion in the union of the Bydgoszcz affair. In practice we quarrel about names and not concepts. During the early months, I myself was opposed to disclosing what transpired within the KK. I have changed my opinion, I believe that secrecy causes rivalries among personnel, it leads to the discussion of matters in terms of names and not programs. I think that revealing

what is going on, in particular the motives behind KK decisions, can help the union. And it would also be a good thing to write down our motives behind decisions and resolutions which have been made.

The next issue: the clear advantage of immediate action to be taken by the union leadership in the implementation of a long-range plan of tasks. Whoever comes to the presidium, whoever is more forceful, whoever gets into the hall first--his issue gets on the agenda for the deliberations. It is a very depressing statement. After every conflict, the activism of the union--the KK and the presidium--drops. The leadership of the union is not in a position to make use of the authority with which society has endowed it for its resolute attitude toward the authorities during periods of conflict and for achieving a compromise solution. From time to time we gain a little authority, only to fritter it away senselessly and thoughtlessly.

Perhaps I am too quick to proffer my own opinions here, but I will not ask for the floor later during the discussion--In my opinion we lost in the Bydgoszcz affair. We did not win because the winning was not in signing the agreement, but in what happened after the agreement was signed. We have not managed to show what was most essential, that it was the union, not those in power, which was basically the sole agent responsible for the fortunes of the country. And that we took the responsibility, and lost. This was the only opportunity in several months for providing a clear demonstration of this.

But perhaps I am being too personal in saying so.

And now I would like to move on to something of great importance. I will discuss it briefly, because it is nothing to be dwelled on. In our country there is now taking place the disintegration of the organizational structures which are essential to the functioning of society, certainly, of the economic administration apparatus, in my opinion. This apparatus is simply falling apart. In a certain sense, the apparatus of the state administration is also disintegrating, although to a lesser degree. Likewise, to a great extent, the party. Such was certainly the case up to the congress.

Again a personal opinion. It must be remembered that formerly the party was an organization in which the so-called party masses had a certain interest in subordinating themselves to the party leadership, a material interest, but above all job security, security in a career, in the road to advancement, etc., etc. They paid for this by subjecting themselves and by quite effectively relaying their recommendations and overseeing their execution. But I believe that sometime late last fall or early this spring the leadership of the party and its member masses were severed. (...)

This is a very fundamental fact, if we remember that the share of the party in social management, particularly economic management, is very great. If this apparatus is lacking, and at the same time the economic administration apparatus is crumbling, then society is left in a catastrophic economic state, bereft of the structures which organize it from within. I think that society cannot exist without internal organization. Solidarity could have and should have developed its own internal structure; it should have established order from within. In my opinion, the economic administration apparatus, the state administration apparatus and the political administration apparatus are crumbling, but Solidarity lacks organization, and thus there is a void in society. And, my opinion is that society cannot survive

when there is no sort of internal organization. By internal organization I understand likewise a program around which society organizes itself. I do not see that either the government or Solidarity has such a program. Society cannot organize itself without a program--there is nothing to organize it around. It seems to me that this is the most threatening matter we have to deal with at this time. We are in disarray, although it seems to us that we are so concordant. I believe that these are masks, that it is a soap bubble which will very soon burst.

The final issue: awaiting the plane of conflict. There are two fundamental ones: 1) the workers self-government [SAMORZAD RABOTNICZY], 2) hunger, and two others 3) the price, wage, sector problem, however one wishes to call it. I would like to point out we will also fall apart from within over this issue, that there will not only be a Solidarity government confrontation, but also a confrontation from within: there will be confrontation between sectors; 4) and one more issue which we have somehow, for the time being, failed to remember. In December the elections for the national councils will be held. I think that we should be aware of this, in order to avert the eruption of very sharp conflict in the matter of electoral law in October or November. Right now we are not keeping this in mind, but I believe that this could become the fourth plane of conflict, not engendered by us but potentially able to occur.

Jacek Kuron
Expert, Warsaw:

I will begin with what Andrzej [Celinski] spoke of, since what I have to say continues his train of thought. I am purposely saying these things in a very brutal way in order to exaggerate certain issues. It seems to me that our former system of exercising authority has ceased to exist. The Central Committee still exists in reality, as do the government and the Politburo, but they do not discharge their functions, nor can they. I differ on this point with many of my colleagues, since I place major emphasis on the fact that they cannot function. It is not that they do not wish to function, but that they cannot. Why do I say this? Let me cite an absolutely concrete example. We say that authority does not have a program. This is surely true. We have no socially approved program for overcoming the crisis. But at the kiosks one could purchase such a program for overcoming the crisis and stabilizing the economy. I bought it and I would like to say to you that it is worth discussing this document; it is a significant document. The government issued it and it was sold in kiosks for a few zloty. What effect did it have? None. It is a letter to no one, because in order for us to overcome the crisis, to stabilize the economy, a massive social movement, a movement of the entire society, is indispensable in this country. Such a movement will not arise if a program is not worked out in a democratic way. The role of the government and of authority would be to propose the point of departure for discussion. But the government cannot propose this--how is it to do this? To which institutions should it appeal? The Sejm" But the Sejm does not represent society, and there is no way of transmitting information from society to the Sejm. They will take the proposal and they will resolve things the way the government tells them to and we will have the same program that I bought at the kiosk as a government progress, except that it will be called the Sejm's program, and things will continue on in the same manner.

The authorities have no way of working out a program together with society. Nor did it have such a method formerly; it only had a way of exercising authority based on a monopoly over organizations, which was based on a monopoly on information and

decisionmaking. We broke down these three monopolies and the system of exercising authority was thus destroyed. And for this reason the statement that we are dealing with a revolution seems to me extremely accurate. For it is a revolution in which the existing order has been overthrown. Well, if the present order has been overthrown, what then? Nothing. The situation we are now in--and this is most dramatic--is characterized by the fact that the old order has been overthrown and there have not even been any attempts to create a new order. It is characterized by the fact that we are living in a social wasteland, and the economy and the functioning of the various institutions of social life are disintegrating, and nothing is changing in this sphere and nothing can be changed because there are no forces to take this upon themselves. Why? If I say "revolution," and if we consider revolutions of bygone years, they were executed to take over power. This means that when the old order was overthrown, they were executed to take over power. This means that when the old order was overthrown, the revolutionary authorities became the state authorities. Immediately. Whether it was good or bad for the state and society is not something I wish to enter into, but this is the way it was.

For the present we have the Solidarity organization, which is a mass movement in defense of workers trade, social and national interests. It is a defense against authority, and in conjunction with this, it cannot take over the authority. Here I would like to say that I consider this state of things, and the universal awareness of this state of things, to be our great good fortune and major success. For I would like to bring the state's attention to the following very interesting phenomenon: in all revolutions up to this time, when the organizations of revolution took over the authority, then society, the people, the masses became defenseless, there was no one to defend it, it lost its organizations which became the state authority. We have an organization which will defend society against any sort of authority there could be. And the consciousness of this is unusually keen. Hence the mass call for a party--we constantly hear: "let's create a party." I have already heard this several times in this hall. Where does it come from?

It comes from the consciousness that Solidarity cannot enact the rebuilding and restoration of the system, there is no one to do it, and so we call for a party to call it into being. In a moment, I will explain my attitude to this, but now I would like to call attention to the fact that the situation as defined is the greatest tragedy and an issue which must become fundamental for us or our ship will really sink. But if we wish to be treated as a trade union, which is very much the government's desire, we must remember that Zbyszek Bujak said at the Warsaw conference--that if we are a trade union, we are a trade union of sailors on a sinking ship. Then what should this union do? Fight for shorter work hours? Fight to be treated well by the captain? Fight for a pay increase to be received at port, if the ship makes it into port? We cannot fight for an increase in food rations, since only as many rations as there are can be distributed. We can only watch to see that they are divided equally, only we must recognize that dividing rations equally on a sinking ship is a foolhardly task, since the ship will sink and we will still be overseeing the equal distribution of rations. This does not mean that the distribution should not have been equal, but it is an issue that is very far down the ladder from the fundamental issue.

This is how the issue shapes up. It is this of which we must become aware. We must view our tasks in this light. In short, we must answer for ourselves what we must do and how we must do it here, what we can do and what we ought to do, all of us together, to save this ship. What can we do as the union, should we abandon the role of the union or not? What are our possibilities for acting?

This is the question over which I have agonized since yesterday, when we were holding the debate. The whole time I had the feeling that we discussing things responsibly. I myself made a motion responsibly, knowingly. I made a motion that we should say that "the food ration must return to its former level" and we will go out on strike for this. In other words, we had already marked out the field of conflict for ourselves. Meanwhile, it is completely clear to me that in our situation, as in political action in general (and what we are pursuing is, after all, political action), we must mark out for ourselves the fields of conflict in the most important matters.

Radicalism, after all, does not consist of fighting for anything anywhere, but of fighting over those issues which are most important, those issues over which it is necessary to struggle, bypassing those which are of lesser importance. I am convinced that the issue of returning to the earlier food rationing level is not the most important issue from the viewpoint of saving the ship, that in this way we are embroiling ourselves in the wrong conflict. I made this motion, fully aware of the fact that if we did not bring it up, a movement would be set in motion which would shatter the union and everything.

It is necessary for us to lead this movement--it's too bad--there is no other way, but I believe that we must be conscious of the fact that we will not really win anything in this struggle. That is, we may win these increased rations not in August, but in September, forcing the government to make additional purchases. That we should win, but it will not change our situation as a union, as a movement, as a country or as citizens. Not in any way. And perhaps it will even worsen our situation, since this coercion causes a cut in another field.

The basic problem is this: Who, in this situation, is to put forth a program, and within what bounds is this program to be set forth?

Yet, we do have a revolution and we must answer this question for ourselves consciously. That is, we must know whether we wish to gain authority as a union, as a party, or whether we also wish to set up some other system. Very much depends on this. For example, yesterday we took up the battle here over the issue of liquidating preventive censorship--this is a noble demand and I am always for it, but it is the sort of struggle which, when one has proposed to become involved in something, is the outcome of many things and not the cause. For either we make up our minds to fight for total democracy, for the full authority of the entire society without limitations--then the consequence of this struggle is the struggle over the lifting of preventive censorship and all censorship--or we are admitting that we must impose self-limitations, and when we do this, we do it unwillingly but of necessity we agree to some sort of preventive censorship. And so this decision must be made, since without this consideration it is always undertaken foolishly.

And so the principal question for me is whether we have to impose self-limitations? Should this revolution impose self-limitations? In my conviction, yes. Here I will not develop this train of thought. My world view is such that in the event that we undertook such tasks as the leadership of the USSR would consider to be a direct threat to them, they would invade us. I am convinced of it. In conjunction with this, I believe that this revolution must consciously impose self-limitations in order to avert this danger. While a discussion on the subject of whether they will invade is speculative, on the other hand it is certain that this

may be tested in only one way. It is not necessary to take this risk. Let us go on to the appeal for a party.

This appeal is based on the conviction that political maneuvers make a party. There is a certain model of a party which facilitates such political maneuvers, that is the Leninist party of the new type, which was later imitated elsewhere. The model is such that a party is being built which copies the state and which seizes the authority within the state. At the moment that it seizes this authority, the authority becomes a party. I believe that we should not build such a party, because I am opposed to such a system. One such system is disintegrating before our eyes, and to build a new one which merely has a different color on its flags--in my opinion it would be no different--since the matter lies not in the color of the flag that is hanging but in the manner of exercising authority which is adopted. Another idea for a party--the struggle for free elections. Within the framework of such a struggle there is room for parties, parties which would struggle for these free elections and would develop an electoral program. I believe that for the reasons of which I spoke (the imposition of self-limitations), we should not undertake a struggle for free elections now, since elections held now would have to be worse than those which we will hold in 1984. We should also not embark on such a battle because the situation we are in is unusually volatile and the issue of free elections itself is an issue which postpones the resolution of other problems which are immediately in need of a solution.

What, then? Solidarity cannot organize the new system. The new system must be organized by the whole society. A new governing organization must be built, but it should not be a party but a movement of self-governments which will be an organization for managing the economy, the enterprise, the region. The struggle for autonomy must become for us the fundamental struggle. And the kind of autonomy should be one which has made its program of the day our emergence from the crisis. Setting right the agricultural economy is the task of the self-government movements, not of the government which, for practical purposes, does not exist.

I believe that what is necessary for us at this moment is the struggle for an autonomy which will undertake the process of building a democracy from the ground up, will organize itself centrally and thus will likewise gain control of basic influence over the economic plan. This must be done today. It will have the effect that there is a place in which the union does not retreat in the face of any conflict in the struggle over the makeup of the self-government and in the struggle for the right of this self-government to set up its own principles for reform. I believe that in this place we have the obligation, no longer merely the right, to have recourse to all possible means, of course utilized sensibly, that is, in the proper order, in undertaking the appropriate preparations and the like.

It is not on the basis of this principle that they now have begun the battle over the directorship of LOT airlines and we as the whole union are involved in this.

I have taken the liberty of expressing my view of ways to emerge from the crisis instead of giving my evaluation of the situation, but I have done so because, in my opinion, this is a relatively good method for describing the situation. How we view this situation is not something we discuss in the Union and it is too bad, when we see all possible threats and limitations and what we should do in this situation. Not until it marks out the field of struggle and the field of conflict for us.

There is another point of view which says that authority is strong, that it operates against us, that it has an entire plan which is to lead, by means of famine, to a return of our former situation. I believe that this is an erroneous point of view. But it is not necessary to debate this viewpoint, since whether authority cannot, because paralyzed, or does not wish to, and consciously brings about such a situation, the consequence is the same--the government does not govern and is not undertaking tasks to save the country. Thus, this obligation falls upon society. Should Solidarity take on this obligation directly--this is the first question. I believe that it should not, that we should not become a governing organization. The second question--who should do it? I believe that here the union has the obligation to undertake action to enable another organization, i.e., the self-government, to take it up.

In conclusion, I would like to say that with regard to the self-government tasks which exceed the bounds of the union, those interested in them should organize themselves into Self-Government Initiatives Clubs [KIS--Klub Inicjatyw Samorzadowych], as I myself have named them. Such a movement of clubs should be the form in which the various aktivs of the union operate in the name of self-government, and perhaps in time the movement of national councils will pass over to this movement of self-governments. However, at no time should this be a political party, not for tactical reasons, but for the reasons of which I spoke, i.e., that the party's function is either to gain authority of the totalitarian type, which I am against, or to fight for free elections, over which we should not yet struggle. In a word, I believe that this revolution is in an unusually dramatic moment, because it must now clearly and expressly specify its positive program, and it must determine whether and how it wishes to limit itself. This decision, however, must be made with open eyes. That is all I wish to say.

Lech Walesa
Chairman, KKP; chairman, ZR [Regional Board], Gdansk

Seeing the dramatic situation, we must begin to work as a National Commission. In order to work well, the body must not be too large--5 to 7 persons plus an additional advisor from each group. Rapidly, the training centers and regional teams which are working for us must be set in motion, and problems must be solved currently and quickly. Otherwise we will not hold our own. You must trust the operative body. If we do not have mutual trust, we will not emerge from this situation. Reflect anew upon this point of view, and later we will undertake further decisions.

Jerzy Milewski
Social Secretariat of the Net [Network of Plant Organizations] of NSZZ Solidarity, Gdansk

I am not the organizer of the Net, in reality I am an official of the Net, a representative of the social secretariat of this structure. In this way I am obliged, in the name of the Net, to present the suggestions which the Net has directed to the KK. I will do so in a few points.

In the first place, the Net recommends that the uniform stand of Solidarity should be elaborated on the issue of the entire complex of economic reform, and not only of workers self-governments [samorzady pracownicze unless otherwise noted].

Second, the Net recommends that the organizational aspect of this work should be entrusted to the Net and that it should have not only a substantial share in discussions but also in the organizational aspect, since the Net has demonstrated effective work in this regard. Moreover, it is known to me that there is an agreement in this regard both with the OPS-Z [Center for Social-Professional Work] and the Committee For Civic Initiatives [KIO] in Krakow, as with Mietek Gil [Mieczyslaw Gil] and perhaps with Jacek Klys, as also with the Public Committee for Economic Reform--I meanKrawczyk and Balcerowicz. And moreover the Net believes that this draft for reform should, in principle, be based on the work which was done some time ago by the SGPIS [Main School of Planning and Statistics] and the Academy of Economics in Wroclaw.

In addition, the Net recommended some time ago that a representative of the KKP attend each meeting of the Net. The KKP secretariat has always been notified of these meetings. Until now, as a matter of fact, only Lech Walesa showed up at the first meeting, I don't know whether as a representative of the KKP or as chairman of the Plant Committee [KZ] of the Gdansk Shipyard, which initiated the Net. I would like to bring your attention to the fact that the Net bases itself on the plant committees which are considered to be the fundamental elements of the union. This does not mean that it is cut off from the MKZ [Interfactory Founding Committee] or from the KK, but every communique of the Net is immediately duplicated and distributed in these plant committees and at the next meeting of every committee there are reports on the subject of the so-called work force reaction.

Of course we know that there is such a reaction, but that it is not fully thought out, because these things are not so quickly brought to the attention of the broad masses of employees. Nonetheless, such evidence of the formal lack of opposition to the plans of the Net by 208,000 members of our union is... In conjunction with this, the Net believes that it needs no KKP umbrella over its activity; no less does it believe that for the KKP to refuse to recognize the Net would be utter nonsense. The next meeting will be held in a few days, 28-30 July in Bydgoszcz.

Recapitulating, the Net recommends to the KKP that, in remaining a structure based on plant committees, it has attained the status of being an instrument of the KIS, and it wishes to take it upon itself in the name of this commission to organize work to formulate the uniform stand of the union in the matter of economic reform. Moreover, the Net recommends to the KKP that, at the highest level of unions, it should establish contact with farmers, with the NSZZ Private Farmers [NSZZ RI Solidarity] simply in order to encourage them to cooperate with the Net. Most likely, this must be done in accordance with diplomatic protocol, i.e., by the Presidium of the National Commission and the Presidium of NSZZ RI Solidarity. Thank you.

Mieczyslaw Gil
Chairman, Metallurgical Workers Commission, Lenin Iron and Steel Works, Krakow

Ladies and gentlemen, I think that at this time we are undertaking the most important issue for our union, i.e., the functioning of self-governments, those self-governments and self-government initiatives against which the union defended itself for a fairly long period of time and to which initiatives not all commissions and not all elements of the union as yet have an unequivocal attitude. What does self-government give us? Self-government certainly seizes certain economic initiatives and we want authentic self-government in its basic dimensions, the kind of self-government that there should be, but, at the same time, we must be aware of the

fact that in many elements of the union there is a certain kind of apprehension that self-government will take over those tasks which are normally being conducted at this time by the union. We come in contact with Solidarity trade unionists and commissions fearing that the union will grow dull in the sharpness of its activity. Of course the need to create self-government is absolute; on the other hand, it must be followed up by the transmission of concrete information to our trade unionists and by the establishing of relations between the trade union and the self-government, and the self-government and the union. I am speaking of this intentionally, because I remember all of the August and September discussions, when the government tried to force us into the channel of self-governments.

People have been afraid of self-governments because we have some experience in this from the 1940's, from all the initiatives after 1956 and from the workers councils, the KSR [Workers Self-Government Conference] and the like. And so, what kind of self-government should there be? We answer that it must be authentic, i.e., it must fulfill, among other things, the function of choosing and dismissing directors; it must fulfill the functions of designating the direction of development of particular enterprises, and the like. Consequently, in order for us to define these functions clearly, we must come out with a compete propaganda campaign and complete information. At this time, on the other hand, there is a government draft of a resolution concerning self-government to which we must react. This plan is now in the Sejm, as we all know, and will most likely be available for our observation on Tuesday. Regardless of our other union tasks at the moment, we must define our position with regard to this draft. Of course there is the Net draft and we must also familiarize ourselves with that. It is a general draft on economic issues and does not refer only to self-government, since the self-government cannot be considered in isolation, without the considerations of economic reform and prices. Until this time colleague Klys and I as appointees, have not been able to do very much in this regard because of elections and the like. We have explained only our position, together with OPS-Z (in concrete materials), on the government draft. You received these materials yesterday. We also determined our position on the Net per se, the initiatives of which we support, of all measures. On the other hand, the matter of relations between the KKP and the Net is a matter to be determined--today, or later if need be.

I would also propose that we become thoroughly familiar with the earlier draft of the resolution I spoke of above. There is also the draft of the Mazowsze resolution, already prepared--I don't know whether Zybszek [Zbigniew Bujak] has familiarized everyone here with that. I will not read these drafts, because you have all received them. With regard to the attitude of the OPS-Z to the government draft, we must have our say on this matter. It cannot be that the government does something and we go about indifferent to it.

Andrzej Gwiazda
Deputy chairman, KKP; member, ZR, Gdansk:

Colleagues: As regards the position of the authorities with reference to government drafts, above all I recommend that we should include in our report a point stating that the union will most emphatically defend all initiators of the self-government movement. That is, I believe that it is at this time indispensable that blocking their movement should not be allowed to succeed. On the other hand, with regard to the attitude of the union to self-government, this has, perhaps, been obvious from the very beginning, and the fact that initially Solidarity stifled

the self-government movement in order not to permit it to enter into its channel, but so that it should begin when the union would be fairly well established, and when some kind of views on this subject became crystallized during the activity of this union, so that the self-government movement would be our movement and not theirs, does not change this.

It seems to me that some members of our union fail to notice the fact that this is not a change in the union's position. The next issue is the attitude of the trade union to the self-government movement or to self-government initiatives. I am an advocate of the position that this union, as much as possible--and I believe that it is 100 percent possible--should be a trade union, i.e., an organization fighting for workers interests. It is obvious that given the situation in which our country finds itself, self-government lies within the interest of our members. It is not an interest for today, but a general and future interest, and in this conjunction our union has no other possibility.

With regard to the Net initiative, this is a very energetic organization which has its own power based on the support of plant commissions and the work forces of large enterprises.

Ladies and gentlemen, large enterprises still have greater power to act, even from the point of view of the effectiveness of an understanding within the plant, than groups of comparable size from small enterprises. We do not doubt this. It seems to me, in conjunction with this, that generally the situation of the union, the self-government movement and the whole country would be more conducive and better if this self-government movement were conducted outside the union. This gives the union and this movement greater flexibility. On the other hand, the union is in a position generally to defend this movement not by the force of several of the largest plants, but by the force of the entire union. Incorporating the self-government movement into the Net, as was recommended by colleague Milewski, directly into the union, would limit these tasks. It would limit them from the formal viewpoint, since each task of the Net, or, more generally, of the movement--as I would propose--of self-government clubs, would have to be approved by the KK. Gentlemen, we are again building a multilevel hierarchical structure which is unnecessary and will certainly considerably limit the heterogeneity of initiatives, the heterogeneity of ideas, and likewise, by institutionalization, will paralyze contacts. It is not a question here of whether one or the other concept group will gain formal support, but that it give rise to a good, concretely prepared plan both of the enterprise and of the self-government. Then the union will be obliged to join in with all of its power authority.

It seems to me that every premature encroachment of the union upon a movement with all of its mass and energy, while that movement is still in the discussion stage, merely paralyzes the whole range of tasks and limits many initiatives. Our movement is already severely institutionalized. It has certain formal obligations, likewise with regard to the authorities, and it would certainly be a drag on the self-government movement if it blended into the trade union movement.

On the other hand, as regards the assertion that some fear that self-government will take the edge off the sharpness of the union--this is obvious. We aim intentionally to take the edge off the union. If we pull the country out of its tragic economic situation, if we ensure the just distribution of the national income, then the trade unions lose their impetus and begin to be occupied with the control of

daily life in its fine points, and with the violations of the rights of workers. Most likely, we are all aware of this and aim toward it. Yes, the introduction of good economic reform has as its goal dulling the sharpness of this movement and liquidating the resounding and drastic problems we now face.

Grzegorz Palka
Deputy chairman, ZR, Lodz:

Ladies and gentlemen, the strategy of union operation was discussed recently by us within the region. We arrived at two very similar strategies, namely: the organization of self-government and the simultaneous organization of public supervision over reform, integrating with it--which must be done even now--this is, however, [only] a concept. It assumes that we will not have a conflict which will completely alter our situation. Consequently, if the market situation allows us, let us say, a period of 3 or 4 months of peaceful operation, it is a viable concept. On the other hand, there is another possibility, when the dissatisfaction of people caused by the situation becomes so great that we are not in possession of the traditional forms of protest. At that time, there will not yet be self-governments to take over these functions and we would have a very threatening period, when there would not yet be self-government and the union, in accordance with this traditional concept, with which the majority of people agree, does not undertake tasks in the economic sphere.

We must find a concept for such a damaging situation, if it does occur. At the meeting of our board, the idea of the accelerated introduction of self-government was brought up. We named it the concept of the working strike and this engendered much controversy. This consists of continuing production and distribution under the supervision of strike committees.

It would be an accelerated form of the introduction of self-government, which, under normal conditions would emerge over 3 or 4 months--unfortunately, this is what we must assume. It cannot be done any faster. However, this concept of introducing self-government in an accelerated manner carries new threats. One of the most menacing is sabotage by the authorities in order to introduce social discontent. In such a case, it seems to me that we must threaten a general strike if the authorities wanted to take destructive action. In any event, it seems to me that we should anticipate such a fail-safe scenario, since it may be necessary. It may be necessary even in August. There may be a situation in which we would strike about food in accordance with the resolution that we have undertaken, and the government would not have this food, and then the question would arise, what next? Even after 2 days of striking, the issue of "what next?" would arise. There would still not be food because the government would not have any to give out. Continuing the strike would be senseless, because this would threaten us with starvation, while abandoning the strike would mean the defeat of the union in this action. This is an example in which the development of the situation will simply make it necessary for us to act in another way. For this reason, I propose that a fail-safe concept should be worked out technically and an answer should be found to the question of how we are to save ourselves in this situation, after 2 days of striking, when the government does not give anything out because it does not have it. This is a potential scenario which may be anticipated. It seems to me that there is still the danger of another scenario, namely that the transitional period for setting self-government in motion will last a very long time, during which the government may undertake an attempt to exhort concrete solutions. Of course, we can block them, we can protest, but if we do not have the right tool for applying

pressure on the government, then after this series of short-term conflicts we will have to approve the government solutions because we will not have a viable alternative to these solutions. While it is true that people are very resentful of these solutions, nonetheless we now have no alternatives. And as I say, if we do not have a tool, at least in the form of the fail-safe, rapid introduction of self-government, then it may be that in the course of this transitional period of 2 or 3 months the government will impose unpopular solutions on us and they will, on the whole, pass, because there will be no alternative.

This is the second scenario, which shows that our concept here is not so self-evident if we have no leverage. This would be the needed tool. There is still, of course, the scenario in which we will not be in general in a position to control this protest. This is the worst scenario, that is, the scenario of bloody conflict and pacification of the union. This is also possible and it additionally imposes on us the obligation of anticipating a breakdown situation, because such is the unfortunate reality. Moreover, I see the necessity of organizing society, even now, to oversee reform, since we have been away a long time and this affects the current situation. I believe that, unfortunately, the union must already take on the obligation of consolidating these social initiatives now. This includes the self-governments and the Polish Economic Society [PTE]. We should organize society to oversee reform, because the transitional period will last a long time before the self-governments begin to operate. I would propose that there be a technical meeting on this matter during the first days of August during which someone from the KKP would be entrusted with the function of supervising reform and with organizing and consolidating these social initiatives. Moreover, with regard to the question of Net proposals, I have a different view. It is splendid that the Net has worked out these drafts, but I believe that the union, grounded in its statutory structures, should affirm its position on these matters.

I believe that in the case of the Net we have the classic example of an informal structure becoming formalized and having the need to establish concrete, formal relationships. I have nothing against the Net and its operational procedure. On the other hand, I am against the formalization of this informal structure, and against entrusting to it the formulation of the official position of the union.

Beyond this, I would like to say that certain obsessions presented here by the Net are a fiction. For example, in Lodz the self-government was worked out from the beginning by the ZR, and the Net statute is, in large part, a rehashing of the earlier elaboration. What is most important is that the plants leading the Net do not have, for example, a self-government in general, and self-government in general is being organized in the Lodz region outside of the Net structure. I am also in favor, however, of these self-governments organizing themselves into regional structures first, and this seems to me to be the most realistic.

Miroslaw Krupinski
Chairman, ZR, Olsztyn

On the basis of my experiences, I find that the model of the Net is not taken everywhere as representative. This model of the Net may be a point of departure, but with regard to the whole cross-section, it is a model which is not representative for our national economy. In order for it to be a representative model, it would have to include a certain cross-section, from large plants to small plants, through specific plants of various types. Otherwise, we must count on the lack of interest

by the work force of those plants which do not fit into these economic categories and on the susceptibility of these same work forces to argue in the manner described recently by Jaruzelski, for example, in which he stated that those enterprises wish to take possession as their own property of plants which are the property of society and which have been paid for by the entire society. The more worthy of belief this model is, the more universally will it be able to be accepted. The sooner we undertake all of these tasks to set these things in order, the more it will be publicly acceptable.

Meanwhile today, when we are not in a position to disseminate this model, the government is beginning to create pseudo-self-governments--a director, the POP [Basic Party Organization] and representatives of the old KSR. Such self-governments are established in rural socialized units with positive success. What do we have to lose? Of course, this model will not last, because it will not be accepted publicly, but foremost because we will lose the ardor of people to establish these self-governments if the first model becomes compromised, and secondly because during the period of the operation of such self-governments in accordance with a universalized formula, decisions may be undertaken which will affect all further action. Example: at this time in agriculture there are unions being proposed, and whether they are agricultural and horticultural, in order for such unions to come into being, the directorate and self-governments must be in agreement. Self-governments formed in this manner undersign such agreements and in this way create a policy of irreversible facts, or in any event, a policy in which the facts are difficult to reverse.

For this reason, having made an understanding with the author, I have taken the liberty of adding point nine to this proposition, which is being rewritten. This point warns against the establishment of this type of self-government.

Ladies and gentlemen, I would still like to say a few words concerning the strategy of the union. It has been very broadly and thoroughly discussed. Pardon me for bringing this subject up once again. In order for this strategy to be effective, we must summarize the realities, that is, the strategy of the opponent. From the very beginning the government, with full awareness, created a situation which may be described as a chronic volatile state. This began with the 600 agreement which, I emphasize, were--with full awareness--concluded in a certain specific way, because by separately undertaking these agreements which contained promises which were not completely fulfilled, it was possible to maintain this volatile state, since it was enough, as experience has shown, to withdraw one word, one sentence from the promise in order to place that group of people to whom it referred in a state of readiness. It was, as has been said numerous times, the old principle of "divide and rule." On the other hand, this universally volatile state was maintained by guaranteeing impunity to the people who had been stigmatized by society. This was not done at all to defend these people totally, because these people are also an inconvenience to the government over the long term, but leaving them in these positions maintained that state of dissatisfaction which could be aggravated were they transferred to a higher position. And again it becomes possible in a completely primitive manner, by awaiting primitive reactions from us, to bring about a situation in which volatile states would begin to occur. These actions were effective; we have had examples, both on a large and a small scale.

On the other hand, we have likewise had examples showing that it is possible to resist these actions and I value very highly, for example, what was done and continues to be done in Radom. I participated in the Radom events in May and there,

despite clear, vulgar provocation aimed at Radom, when the attempt was made to provoke them by force to make them jump, they managed to resist this. Now the situation is inflammatory for the second time, and once again the background is a conflict in Radom. The government may bring about a situation in which Radom becomes and will be the next center of conflict. My proposal, which I have already initially had approved by our Radom representative, is that we should not resort to violence, to all-out revolt, but we should play diplomatically. I propose that Radom should at this time approach all of the regions with a request to print the same publications in runs of, let us say, 1,000 or 2,000 copies. We will achieve two goals: first, what has been confiscated will, in practice, be returned; and second, it will be backed up by a whole distribution activity, for the publication "Radom 76" was intended primarily not for Radom, but for the rest of the country. At the same time, I do not believe that the confiscation of materials in the way it was done in Radom could be carried out in all regions of the country, because this would be more than the provocation of society--it would be an open attack, and the government would probably not allow itself this. Similarly, if the confiscation of this type of material does occur in other regions, I advise a strategy taken from the ground up, that is, these materials should be immediately printed more widely in the other regions in smaller runs.

With regard to our strategic formula, it is probably no revelation, but I think it should be summarized. Hence: first the distribution of powers is determined here, among us, together with the employment of hired personnel at the level of the KKP. Let us not give this ants' work over to workers, but principally to social aktivs in the KKP. We ought to create a staff of employees, as in the regions, and these should be not only administrative employees but ideational employees as well, for whom specific tasks will be set up. The procedure and the time-limit for implementing these tasks will be detrmined, and the employees will have to keep this in confidence. The aktiv who has a specific matter to settle will not agitate among other aktivs who have no time for this, but he will set specific tasks for particular workers, and on this basis he will undertake decisions which he will report on to the KKP forum. We will rid ourselves of these onerous discussions and the interference of everyone into each issue. Secondly, we should preserve ironclad logic in the implementation of the tasks which we undertake, under the conditions that we undertake them in a deliberate manner, i.e., our move should not be the result of the fact that we have had the spurs dug into us, but that we should think things through.

Thus far, when we have undertaken a task we were prepared only to succeed and when we were defeated, we began to improvise. The union strategy should not depend on this. When we undertake a task we must allow tactically that something unexpected in one way or another may arise at a given moment. When we wish to pressure our opponents in some way we must be prepared for the fact that, after a certain amount of resistance, either they will comply with our wishes, or comply in part, or they will not concede anything: We must be prepared for each of these variants. We must have a formula in readiness for several moves forward. In this way, we will avoid the sort of surprise we received after 27 March and the one we received recently in Bydgoszcz. Next, our tasks should be characterized by the universal comprehension of our actions, i.e., everything should be logical and should be announced not only to union members, but should be made known more broadly, outside the union, because, despite appearances, we need the support of people outside the union, even such people as were stifled in an unsympathetic manner, shall we say, as was the case formerly in grassroots movements in the PZPR. We must seek allies, ladies and gentlemen.

At this moment we are finding them. In our own area we see that we have allies in representative organs. We have won over the municipal national council and the provincial national council, and it is evident, in any kind of controversy in our area, that they are our allies. It means something if the representative organ, which is a formally recognized organ, holds the same position as we do ourselves. It immediately dispels the conflict inherent in these actions in spite of the fact that they are sometimes totally radical. In the fact of the coming elections, we should follow the same line of reasoning and secure ourselves a place in municipal and provincial national councils and in the Sejm.

Here we must decide a certain statutory problem, that is, is a Sejm deputy who is a member of the union, for example, eliminated from fulfilling his function in the union, or not. Of course, opinions will probably vary because the Sejm is an authority and union authority is likewise an authority. There may be a collision of interests, but if we do not clear this up soon through a statute, we will lose one of our most important opportunities. I believe that the more people we have in the Sejm the better, and also the higher the caliber of these aktivs, the better. In conjunction with this we should not eliminate our aktivs from participation in representative organs.

In sum, we have three formulas for a political party; all three solutions, however, are droll. The first, my own formula, is in substance completely impossible; the second is entering the PZPR in a broad front, which is most impossible; or entering some other party, e.g., the SD [Democratic Party], which numbers 150,000 members and could number 10,150,000 members and would not have to be registered. Of course, these three possibilities meanwhile exhaust the package of eventualities and, practically speaking, we hardly have them at all. And now with regard to the little likelihood of the type of move in which we would create a party for ourselves, I believe that we should develop the proper approach among our partners to our logical actions. If we manage to do this, we will, first of all, have permanent partners among our moderate interlocutors for various kinds of actions; second, despite this first defeat, we can continue to inspire this kind of understanding and cooperation, for example, among the party masses. Their actions issuing from the rank-and-file were clearly evident; this behavioral logic may be stirred up even there. Of course, this is so under the condition that we will not be at the service of logical behavior and will not insist on their acceptance and, on the other hand, that we will not make sketches of them hanging from the gallows, because this is a completely primitive move which is aimless.

If we succeed in weighing our behavior, I believe that we will very quickly succeed in bringing around to our side people who are neutral and people who could be our potential enemies.

Ladies and gentlemen, the socioeconomic tasks undertaken must be prepared in all aspects, and I emphasize, prepared in all aspects, in order to avoid a situation in which pointless counterarguments of the type of Maruszelski's recent statement on the subject of self-governments, find minimal circulation among society. At the same time I believe that we should widely expose the economic, social and even political shortcomings which make up the whole picture of our current state. It seems to be that it would be very advisable to centralize the campaign to record the manifestations of economic sabotage--and that is what I would call it. In our area, at least, there is the fairly universal waste of food. Lard is being designated for fodder; grain which has become parched in silos is similarly designated.

And now, while we have individual cases of such waste to deal with, we are able to arouse the greatest amount of social indignation. If we were to introduce a central registry of the entire mess, it may turn out that from this will be born some sort of system which will become known.

It is a system which, as was stated by Andrzej Gwiazda several months ago, may hint at the treachery of the situation, for if individual actions create some sort of whole, then we will already to able to determine who is at the helm, and if we succeed in deciphering this system of tripping us up in this difficult situation, then we will have both the moral possibility of applying pressure and the active possibility of acting against this system.

Jerzy Stepien
Deputy Chairman, ZR, Kielce:

We ought to give some thought to where the centers of future conflicts to which we may be provoked can be found. It is possible to carry on so that a conflict is not brought about at the earliest opportunity. The union policy in the matter of self-government was such that the union spoke of self-government the whole time, nonetheless in practice things were different. In the first program, near the end of August, there was a very wise sentence about establishing workers councils [rady pracownicze unless otherwise noted]. This was later torpedoed. Somehow, in a practically imperceptible way, the draft prepared by the Gdansk Region which discussed the establishing of workers councils was passed. I believe that there was a concrete idea in these two documents, an idea which originated in the union, and it should be developed.

In the course of these 36 years there have been two periods in which attempts were made to build authentic and well-thought-out self-government. The attempt following 1956 was the less interesting initiative of the two. On the other hand, really authentic self-government was born in February, 1945, when the decree concerning the plant council (not to be confused with the plant council of an industrial branch trade union [swiazek branzowy]) came into force. It was 3 months before the end of the war, and certain political forces in this country were already thinking of trying to organize social and economic life by means of such a form. In general we did not have such traditions before the war, which does not mean that there were no such solutions in Europe.

In Czechoslovakia there have been workers councils since 1920. Austria has also had such councils. It was the way out of the crisis that followed the first and second world wars. Leftist politicians saw the possibility of controlling the economic situations through workers councils. At this time it seems to me that we ought to bind ourselves to the 1945 decree without any danger, because this will dismiss the accusation against us that we do not want socialism. If someone here tried to build socialism, it was before 1948. After that, things in general had little in common with socialism. Binding ourselves to this tradition gives us a strategic trump card. I say this because there is something very important contained in the 1945 decree. We can virtually build self-governments on the basis of that system now, without waiting for a resolution concerning the work force council [rada zalogi]. The decree discusses the most important thing linked both with the problem of elections to national councils and with the concept of Jacek Kuron in which he spoke of social initiatives clubs and the like, in which truly democratic elections are anticipated, because elections have five specific qualities.

What we are doing in Solidarity is good in a trade union. Really democratic elections are something else again and can lead to creating a representative body in which various types of contradictory trends may be reflected. Only a proportional system, that is, voting on ballots, makes possible the creation of such representation.

If we learned in workers councils to vote on ballots, we would then train the whole of society, which knows little about voting machines. We would train them to vote in a completely democratic manner and to demand a system of voting on ballots in elections for people's councils [rady narodowe unless otherwise noted]. I think that the state authorities would go for this. After all, voting on ballots was used after the war. Such attempts arose, among other places, in the Lodz center. The electoral law there says that if the work force agrees or demands, voting for workers councils should be done using a system of proportional elections, on ballots. This trend should be continued. There would be a new quality in our discussions of self-government, and, on the other hand, there would be an initial step taken toward the creation of representative structures, at least at the basic level, i.e., of gmina councils and provincial councils, and, at the same time, it would prepare us for parliamentary elections.

I propose that we make use of all the trains of thought found in the Lodz, Gdansk, or even the Kielce papers, the latter of which I represent. Such elections for the workers council were conducted among the work force of the Iskra plants. I believe that the union Solidarity should firm up this matter. We should not leave it up to the Net. It has fulfilled and will continue to fulfill a very positive role based on the implementation of certain concepts. But let us remember that this will not be properly accepted by the union members in general, and thereby by society, if these self-government ideas are not supported by the authority of Solidarity.

I have this fundamental complaint about all of these drafts of social enterprises, i.e., that they do not make use of the system of workers councils from 1945 and thus deprive us, as the union, of the chance to avoid a future conflict in elections for people's councils. I believe that this matter must be properly considered in all of these drafts.

Neither the government draft of the law on self-government nor this social draft, in general, abrogates the validity of the 1945 decree. This is the best proof of the fact that both those who worked on the former and those who worked on the latter did not make proper use of the mechanism which is therein contained.

Szymon Jakubowicz
Expert, OPS-Z, KKP, Warsaw

It has worked out very well that the KKP is discussing matters of self-government today. There are no longer individual workers councils, it is a great social movement. This means that the initial hesitation and doubts that we observed at the end of last year and at the beginning of this year have been overcome and are all the more overcome the more authority applies pressure not to organize workers councils [rady pracownicze]. When the authorities were pressuring for their creation, the work force held back. Now it is the opposite and I believe it is very important for the KKP to finally take a stand on this matter.

I think that the problem can be divided into two parts: a strategic part and a tactical part. This means, it can be divided into the general position of the union in matters of workers self-government [samorzad pracowniczy unless otherwise noted], and those problems which the union faces today. The problem of workers self-government and the quarrel which is ensuing, a very difficult battle which will continue to go on, is a problem of jurisdiction, as well as the even more serious problem of who is to have the authority in an enterprise. There is the problem of who is to appoint and dismiss the director of the enterprise. It would seem that this is a simple matter, but underlying this problem in reality is the essence not only of authority in the enterprise, but also the essence of economic reform. If the minister appoints the director, maintaining his authority over the enterprise in this way, then its independence remains a fiction. If this function of appointing, dismissing and determining the responsibilities of the director to the work force via the workers council is assumed by the work force, then the autonomy of the enterprise can be guaranteed. I venture to say that the struggle for self-government will be a struggle primarily over this point. All other attacks we see today, namely the attacks on the Net and on the position of Solidarity, that it negates common national property, that it wants to assume proprietorship of enterprises and that it promotes group property are, I believe, a smokescreen over the basic problem. In discussions, after all, it comes out openly. We should be aware of this problem. Thus, if we speak of the struggle for economic reform, in my opinion the best instrument of struggle for the union is the struggle for authentic self-government, since authentic self-government at once defines the character of this reform.

Here I must bring to your attention a certain element which exists in the government draft of the law. Namely, it is stated in the law that if the minister recognizes that it is possible to transfer this authority to a specific enterprise which he has selected, this may be done. What does this mean? Although it appears to be speaking of ideological principles, what the law is discussing is the person who will have the authority to transfer this right to make decisions, i.e., whether the director is to be appointed by the minister or by the work force of the enterprise. Apparently there is a serious contradiction in the position of authority. We should not content ourselves with the 1956 solution of the problem, or the 1947 solution of the problem because these solutions, although at the time very progressive, do not fit the current situation. Let us cite the example of the 1956 law in which it is stated that the workers council manages the enterprise. At the same time, this law states that on the question of a basic problem had by the director, the council and the work force have only the right to express their opinion. At that time it was not possible to achieve any other status, but this is unacceptable for us today. The situation is the same with the 1947 decree. The problem of organizing elections is an important problem, but in this situation, and with regard to the question of authority, it is a secondary problem. This is also why it is important to appeal to the workers self-government, while determining its authority in accordance with our times.

With regard to tactics, the problem lies in the fact that today a fundamental element of union tactics is to overstrain such a law which will be set up according to the aspirations of workers, which will contain points defining both the authenticity of self-government and, in great part, the very essence of economic reform. Unfortunately, we are no longer able to talk with the government today. The government does not wish to speak with us. It has transmitted these matters to the Sejm and our only recourse now is to put pressure on the Sejm. There are various ways

to apply such pressure. Some are already being used, including the organization of meetings in regions for the purpose of transmitting and exerting pressure to encourage deputies to represent the public viewpoint in the problem of the law. I do not believe that it is necessary for us to work out our own draft of the law.

At this time we have available two drafts which lie now with the Sejm. One of these is the draft of the government's economic initiative. There is also the Net draft which, admittedly, has not acquired such an attribute, but it is possible to refer to it. Today not only is there such a need but there is also no time to start gathering materials and working out our own draft. On Tuesday, that is, in 2 days, we must sit down at the table with the representatives of the intercommission team of deputies for the purpose of opposing these drafts of government laws which are already in the Sejm. Preparing our own draft of the law is neither possible nor necessary.

At this time of position is relatively clear. What's more, all centers associated with Solidarity have a common position on this issue. That is, on this basic issue of which I spoke and which defines the essence of workers self-government and the range of economic reform. I have not come in contact with even one concrete statute of workers self-government which was worked out with the participation of Solidarity (except for some small enterprises where the KSR are still hanging around), where this demand and this issue has not been presented in a clear and explicit manner. I am convinced that there is not even any need for our convincing each other.

For example, this issue: the draft of the government law states that workers councils are to organize in all enterprises on the basis of the law until 31 December. We must oppose the issue put in such a way.

The issue of self-government is an issue of the sovereign will of the work force. It has the right to call together the self-government whenever it feels the need, and not "until 31 December" according to administrative order. And second: perhaps the law should contain maximum rights for workers self-government, but the work force should have the right to choose such rights as, in a given moment, suit it best. I cite this as one of the characteristic questions. There are opinions which have been worked out in various centers, including the OPS-Z by Krakow workers associated with Solidarity, by the Mazowsze Region and others--all of these may be reduced to one common denominator; it is possible today to sit down at the table, discuss and oppose the resolution of the government law.

Similarly, I am not of the opinion that we should now embark on working out our own draft for economic reform. We are neither prepared for this, nor is it necessary. The union should advocate a social movement in the name of economic reform primarily through workers self-government [samorzady pracownicze] and workers councils, which will become the most important element of social support for economic reform.

The Net issue. It seems to me that the Net has done very great work and this is worthy of recognition by the KKP. There is likewise the potential support in the Sejm of all of these principles which are found in the Net draft. This, of course, does not mean that it should be a matter of prestige, i.e., it will be either this draft or none. Besides, the organizers of the Net do not pose issues in this way. At the last meeting of the Net in Gdansk, on 8 July, it was stated that the Sejm is convening likewise to consider the Net plan. The problem does not lie in which draft will be resolved, but in what will be in this draft, what its principles will

be and, in my conviction, this is how this issue should be treated. On the other hand, if it is a question of the issue of supporting the self-government and organizational solutions on this issue, the union cannot back out of this so that it itself would be the whole social base of this movement, all the more so given today's concrete situation.

Regional and interregional understandings are being organized in all, or in many regions. These understandings, alongside the Net, create a better possibility for coordinating efforts. Such coordination is very much needed during this phase of the struggle for self-government. Recapitulating, in my conviction, there exists a common position and there exist centers which are engaged in these matters. It is the job of the KKP to determine the general platform and to summon these people and centers to the Sejm discussions for the purpose of working out a proper law.

Andrzej Gwiazda:

Colleagues: Lobbying is a very important thing in such meetings. And so during the break I found out that there is resistance to self-government in plant commissions as well. The commissions of these plants are suspicious of this because it lacks support. In my former statement I did not consider this phenomenon. If it exists, I believe that the KKP should pass a resolution obliging plant commissions as well as regional boards to impart every kind of assistance to groups initiating the self-government movement and working within this movement. I believe that this is absolutely essential.

On the other hand, I continue to support the need for a formally detached relationship. This is to the advantage of both union tasks and self-government tasks. I have a marginally different view of the issue of self-government and economic reform from that of my colleague, the previous speaker. I believe that these are things which are absolutely inseparably linked. In principle, apart from the psychic sphere, i.e., a person working in a self-governing plant feels better, I also believe that in the economic sphere self-government fulfills the role of universally disseminating economic reform.

Here we must be aware of our powers, since in many addresses, in many speeches our good intentions and our goals are mixed up with our powers. Thus we must tell ourselves that as the union, the movement--disregard the name Solidarity--in any event has certain powers. These powers are executive possibilities. As yet, we do not have executive possibilities either in the matter of reform or in the matter of self-governments. On the other hand, what can we do as a union?

We can certainly create the facts worked on the psyche of society. And, ladies and gentlemen, these are then not fantasies, but concrete facts. In other words, our union can resolve to support such and such a system of choosing workers self-government in plants and, it seems to me, that we can resolve such a plan right here and now.

I personally am very much in favor of the system which was proposed by the 1945 decree, i.e., the system containing the proposal of democratic, proportional elections on ballots.

Ladies and gentlemen, there are attempts being made in small plants to create self-government from a key group: one person from the party, one from the ZMS [Union of Socialist Youth], one from Solidarity and one from the directorate. Here our union,

whether it will intensify or reduce its formal involvement in issues of self-government, must nonetheless enter our commission. And it seems to me that this is a matter which lies directly within the competence of the union, that is, that we can impose an electoral law on the self-government body. The kind of electoral law this will be preordains likewise the directions of this self-government in the future and the method of its operation. On the other hand, we must realize that if we adopt operational regulations, there will be instructions, there will be certain guidelines. However, we do not have the authority, nor will the self-government have the authority, to enforce these regulations. This will be a plan over which we will have to struggle and which must be introduced either by a revolutionary method or by resolution.

Let us return to economic matters, for in the end the purpose of self-government is to assume economic authority in the enterprise (time will tell whether this will succeed in whole or in part). For the present, the prevailing position in our country is that the work force assumes total authority in the enterprise, at least the legislative authority. On the other hand, opinions are divided with regard to executive authority, as to whether we may permit an appointed director, whether we may dismiss him or whether we should choose him competitively. These are matters of lesser importance. In any event, the authority of the self-government will be decisive and we must now realize that this self-government will be neither an advisory body nor an obstructive body as it was in the first version conceived by society (that the self-government would be an organ for blocking directorial decisions which were unfavorable to the work force). At this time, society and the union have conceived a positive idea of authority, i.e., not that of blocking bad orders, but that of dispersing good orders. Here we go absolutely nowhere without the economy. At least 50 percent of our colleagues certainly realize that the current operation of an enterprise is based on paranoia, on contrived indexes, on contrived allocations and uncertain investments. In order for the self-government to really govern, it must attain freedom. In order to have freedom of operation, it must, at least to a certain extent, have the freedom to decide about the financial matters of the enterprise, that is, it must have access to decisionmaking concerning the issuance and assumption of bank credits and monetary outlays and to accounting with the bank.

I believe that this issue is universally overlooked because it is a very thorny one. In an imposed system of making financial outlays such as we have now, the self-government will be suffocated for it again will simply not have executive authority.

When we speak of self-government, and when we build structures, let us remember that at this time it acquires its executive authority illegally because of success in getting the authorities to agree to change several directors for the price of calm. The future concept must enable the tasks of the self-government to be legal, regardless of how this legality is attained, whether aided by a general strike, whether with the help of pressure on deputies or based on such a principle as the deputies themselves will understand.

The union cannot cut itself off from investigating the structure of the economy as such. I believe that the KK is certainly not a competent body for this. Unfortunately, good intentions here are not enough. Calculations are necessary here, and experts are needed. It seems to me, as I emphasized earlier, that our union will be able to express a definite opinion when there is simultaneously presented both a draft of the operation of the enterprise and the powers of the self-government, composed by us and adapted to this model. If we do not take these things

into consideration, they will continue to be views which can be shattered with one order of the minister of finance. We should realize that in introducing self-government we are hanging not on great laws but on one signature of the minister.

Wladyslaw Frasyniuk
Chairman, ZR, Wroclaw:

Ladies and gentlemen: There are three issues. I will begin from Andrzej Celinski's statements. I think that he has made an egregious blunder. It is not the union which emerges weakened from every clash with authority, but the authority of the union, the KVP, which emerges weakened after every conflict. At least, this was the case after the recent Warsaw agreement. I would like to say that our press, which calls itself self-governing and independent, has thus far not written about the personnel conflicts of which Andrzej Celinski spoke. It's too bad.

The second matter, which surprised me here very much is one which Lech Walesa talked about for 2 days. I also think that he talks a lot but does too little. He should appoint people right away with whom he would like to work. And we, as the KKP, would confirm these people for him, by the same token increasing their authority--and the matter will be taken care of, and one need not talk so much.

Next a matter spoken of by Jacek Kuron. Fundamentally I agree that this is a self-limiting or self-controlling revolution. Agreed. On the other hand, I believe that we as union members, and I emphasize union members, should not speak of whether we will assume authority or when we will do it. As union members we should rather consider how to prepare society for these elections and how to become the guarantor that these elections will be free and democratic. And this is all that we should say on this subject. I think that here Jacek placed too little emphasis on the role of elections to the people's councils. I think that the union should have become involved in this yesterday and not today, and that it should have worked out a tactic just for these elections. And here I make an appeal to my colleagues that in the regions we should take under consideration the subject of how the union is to fall into line with regard to the elections to people's councils.

Now I turn to the issue of self-government, and consequently to the tactics of the union for, doubtless, the next few months. Ladies and gentlemen, it is necessary to reflect upon two matters, on two roads, i.e., should the union continue to be the echelon which controls and expresses an opinion about what the government is doing and what it has done until this time, in this way engaging its authority. (Everyone has said that the government is trying, that perhaps these drafts are open to discussion, but that they will reach no one if the union does not accept this).

Or is the union to take a new road?--and here I am for this new road. We must come out with our own initiatives. I think that the union can afford to come forth with such initiatives now. And the Net program is, for the first time, just such an initiative. And here again a fundamental matter: It seems to me that in speaking the whole time of self-government, we have made an error. This issue cannot be separated from the law concerning the enterprise. The next mistake we make in speaking of self-government--neither the union nor the Net will name the self-government bodies. We, as the union, must appeal to the plant commissions to interest every person, whether he is in the union Solidarity or outside the union, in familiarizing himself with these two drafts. As the union we must invest our

authority in this, writing and speaking in such a way that it will reach everyone. We are already doing this in Wroclaw; many regions are certainly doing it. I even have a handbill which shows how we did this. I believe that the KKP should recognize the Net because, ladies and gentlemen, they are union members. We are pickling here like sauerkraut in this barrel, with our problems. There is no one to solve this--and suddenly people take up the initiative for which we have all been waiting! They help us in this task, they place before us a completed draft which, while not perfected, is important as a basis for discussion.

The KKP should resolve that the Net is a branch of the union and, in conjunction with this, that the OPS-Z is at its disposal. I remind you that the center cannot be a separate body, that it must be a service center working in the name of our needs. I think that the draft which we have given in to be printed will be very incomplete, as we have learned in our discussion, and it seems to me that we should now appoint a group to supplement it with the recommendations made in this discussion.

Jan Rulewski
Member, KKP Presidium
chairman, ZR, Bydgoszcz

I have the impression that it is 1917 and I am at the rallies in Moscow and Petersburg at which Lenin called out to the working and soldiers' councils. And we are taking over the authority. We are implementing the slogans for which the population has waited. However, it is 64 years later, but before this we did have a way station--the year 1956 (...) and here authentic workers councils [rady robotnicze] were created, I must tell you, not only as a result of an autopsy, but from what I have heard from various people who set up these workers councils [rady robotnicze] and who persevered until... from 12 to 18 months. They said that they were authentic--there were not even any party members there.

They said that they had very great powers: they could dismiss the director, appoint, grant pensions, awards, whatever they wished. These self-governments from 1956 fell. It was not because Moscow prohibited them or because Gomulka sent in police forces. Not one person was beaten for defending the idea of self-governments in 1956 or 1958, but despite everything the self-governments fell. They fell as a consequence of the natural traits of working people, said one worker [robotnik]. For the worker is that sort of person who does not push ahead. The worker is the person doomed to work, and his honesty is found in the market, where his work is properly valued in the form of the value of goods produced by him. For this reason workers' protests are not unusually based on pseudosocial, rose-colored, or red ideas, but almost always on social inequality. Along the way we also have Yugoslavia--an example of a self-managing economy. I spoke with several Yugoslavs: One says that it is true that in the past 20 years from time to time they have attempted to set up self-management, but that he has no closer understanding of the situation, of what is going on. The economic successes of Yugoslavia, if we consider the fact that they are greater than Poland's, are based on political and economic independence. This made it possible for Yugoslavia to let 2 million people go to work in the West during a particular period. It was also the decisive factor placing it in a position today to absorb them under favorable conditions, and not the fact that some sort of self-management exists, which is, after all, indispensable under Yugoslavian conditions, i.e., under the conditions of the existence of seven republics with differing cultures, differing economic standards and differing customs and religious influences, making centralized management impossible.

I believe that the addresses of colleagues Celinski and Kuron threaten the interests of the union, since, I please observe, the union had very onerous goals to fulfill, including the restoration of a certain self-government, not sovereignty but economic self-government, and in its wake, political self-government by means of representative institutions such as the Sejm and the people's councils. Today Jacek [Kuron] shies away from the word Sejm--frankly, he is afraid; it censures our actions. And so, whence are the fundamental principles of our sovereignty to flow? They cannot be implemented in the enterprise; on the other hand, they must be proposed by the highest echelons of representative authority. Whether it exists now or not is unimportant--it can exist! For the realities are, my dear Jacek [Kuron], that it is not true that the Russians will enter the country or that they will do what they did in Budapest, i.e., close some ports, blockade some highways.

I am opposed to self-government for today, when the union is on the road between one way station and another. I am in favor of not creating it because we are not yet ready for it, because we have not yet razed other structures which will patronize this self-government. For this reason as well, we are faced with the dilemma of how to defend shipyards or mines so that coal will not be sent abroad at a low price when, unfortunately, it will have to go. We are resigned to economic realities which are, unfortunately, more despotic than the ways of discussing democracy. I probably have evidence of this from the electoral campaign--the economic self-government of state enterprises will deliberate in this way. Except that in the unions we can allow this sort of thing, for the past has shown that 15 people from a shipyard are in a position to create a program for the whole of Poland, while in the economy this does not work, for what will be needed will be the efforts of all working people, the overcoming of all pathologies in the plant, on the street and on the tram. If we entrust economic matters to various economic larks or mass meetings, then, unfortunately, we will have a state of anarchy. Besides, it is already apparent--powerful plants autonomously get themselves pork, fatback, cigarettes with no concern for others.

And now I return to the social line, or rather, the social conflict. The union has not achieved its goals and is already creating new structures. I spoke with the Net as chairman of the working group for matters of economic reform. Together we recognized that at the present stage, in the fact of unconcretized plans for economic reform, we are in agreement that founding committees of self-government should be created. Meanwhile, today I learn that something else is being created--KOR [Committee for the Defense of the Workers] or KIR, it is the same thing, there is even a strange concurrence of these concepts. KIR begins with a K. And in the face of this, the simple worker, whose consciousness, I emphasize, reaches for understanding, whether he belongs to Walesa or not, will be given over now to analyze this entire complex situation. There are trade unions which, in their electoral campaigns typified the best people, in my conviction, to whom all sorts of hopes are entrusted--and now something parallel is being created. We are even coerced and obliged to create self-government based on workers, but for the most part experts will take the lead, because the economy is a thing for experts, unfortunately. And there the indolence of workers will be more noticeable than at union meetings (where it is also noticeable, one way being the fact that we are not able to get a quorum). Consequently, there will be a conflict in the lap of the union itself. The self-government, in undertaking difficult decisions concerning the liquidation, for example, of production of airplanes on the basis of economic premises will have to fire several thousand people in the name of the union. And this will be the economic reality, which is not always tied in with social theory--social thought travels a different course.

There is the matter of economic reform. We want to creat these self-governments for today, but we do not know the makeup of economic reform. Gierek's crime is not that he built several villas for himself, the leader of a wealthy state should also be wealthy. His crime is the impoverishment of the entire cadre, which also penetrated the trade union. And please do not take this as a personal remark, but those who ought to decide union strategy--the advisers--decide the least. Please observe that the advisers have remained silent since the time that they were disparaged in the union. Thus we do not have those alternatives.

Several dozen versions of economic reform have reached me. All of them lead to one common denominator--self-government. The most interesting of them is that of Dr Balcerowicz, but for the fact that it places the issue of self-government sixth on the list. First place is given over to political conditions and conditions of economic self-government. Then he recognized a change in Sejm and people's council powers as the point of departure--these are the decisive factors in economic reform. Meanwhile we are bent on introducing reform, self-government. It was not you, colleagues of the Net, who prompted us, you merely wish to prod us into choosing a different form of self-government. TRYBUNA LUDU prompted self-government when it initiated a discussion with the union one day through anonymous arguments. It is an attempt to push the union out to the margin of public life and to highlight a new group--a self-governing group which would quarrel both with the trade unions and with the directorship, with the party exercising patronage over all of this, as an arbitrator, a mediator. Therefore, I do not think that this road was clear and well-defined for today. Without specifying an economic model, we cannot rush into decisions which will sanction a given economic model. Even if we assume that self-government is that suitable solution for an economic model or a compromise solution (I think that this is partly taken from western democracy and partly from eastern ideology, and it is known that mixtures are always the worst because they are explosive). But let us assume that the new self-government is the appropriate solution, even though the most important point here is the issue of choosing the director. This issue is tenth on the list for me, the most important issue being the matter of machinery and the economic model; the issue of which executors we choose and the basis on which they will be chosen is a secondary one.

If we take the Net model, in which it is proposed, e.g., that there should be a plebiscite for the director, as one version has it, then it will turn out that in a clothing factory where many women work, a dynamic director will never be accepted. Most likely a handsome man who kisses hands will be chosen. If we assume that self-government is that social mechanism which will regulate the economy, then this is an issue of some importance. But how are we in general to arrive at a normal economy? None of the economic plans which my advisers and others offer me answer this question. What will the economy be in 2, in 5 years? There are visions, meanwhile no one knows how we are to get from today to the model for tomorrow. What are we to do? How should we set up the queues for plants which are waiting for materials they are lacking? Which plants should be brought to a standstill? For this reason, I believe that the union, by pointing out the directions of economic reform, should force not the demonstration of a model of reform, but the demonstration of directions. And the union is prepared for this, because it is organized radially, through plant commissions, locally through the MKZ to the KKP at the highest level. Consequently, it has counters to the government and the party at every level of its existence, and this attests to the strength of the union. If we adopt the assumption that it should be a rank-and-file, self-government movement, then it will be strong only in the plant. On the other hand, will it be powerful in foreign trade?

Now I come to Celinski's statement, which is for me only a group of reflections and not a series of questions about the union's program. The doubts which filter through this hall, and moreover in plant commissions, circles and the MKZ concern the union's program and, in point of fact, the essence of the union. We are not a union. As I see it we are an oppositional sociopolitical movement. There are however, other statements which cause members to withdraw from us and arouse doubts in the rank-and-file. Here I have in mind the statements of colleague Walesa who, when we, aktivs, express the conviction that this is a socioprofessional movement, or an oppositional socioprofessional movement without any sort of aspirations to become a political party, since we do not envision the ideological reconstruction of society and we do not wish to assume the authority, then unfortunately, certain prominent figures in our union life offer completely different interpretations: that we are concerned with buying underwear and shoes and with rationing cards. And this creates confusion. The question arises: Should we also strike over censorship? It is easy for us to strike over money, we do not have to be persuaded to do this, here the petitioners stand at the door. But as for censorship, should we strike, we don't know, nor do we know who we are. And for this reason let us first define and create a strategic, perhaps a problematical program of tasks and then everyone will be aware of what they have to do.

Andrzej Sobieraj
Chairman, ZR, Radom:

I support my colleague from Lodz--[Grzegorz] Palka. Those who preceded me did not take up the subject, but the issue is very important. He asserted that every issue, whether the self-government issue or another issue, can collapse in such a situation as the country finds itself today. We must give this idea some thought. Society is hungry, a women's hunger march has been organized in Lodz. Society is embittered, and the government may hit upon an idea which will be seized upon, and then they will settle up with us for not having suggested the idea. I spoke with Kalinowski, who gave me cigarettes from May, from April and I know very well from the tobacco plant in Radom, that cigarettes are not warehoused, that they go directly to market. Then something is behind the fact that they are, nonetheless, kept somewhere in storage. In the same way, there may be a shortage of other articles and conflicts may arise as a result of this.

There is the fear, spoken of at length by J. Rulewski, that this situation may hamper the establishment of self-government. However, I am in favor of the establishment of self-government, perhaps not so much self-government as commissions which will prepare the coming into being of self-government. We must approach the people with proposals for the creation of self-government, but through discussion. Here I bear a grudge against the Net, a grudge which Janek [Rulewski] did not bring up. There is much discussion about large plants, but there is little or nothing said about small plants. And the small plants come to us and say: What role does the Net see for us, will the large plants not come to dominate us later? There should be some sort of meeting held with plants of small and intermediate size in order to lessen their fears.

Still another matter: It is felt in our region that the government side has something else in mind. I know that in many plants there is a certain form for establishment of self-governments by the directorate. The directorship tries its hardest to suggest to plants the model of which Gwiazda spoke, unless I am mistaken; one union member, one representative from the industrial branch trade unions, a third

from the POP and the like. Is there not sometimes here some sort of ploy by the government side, through the directorships, which can make those unaware believe in their system, their method and their self-government structure?

For this reason, I once again appeal to the Net to issue some sort of concrete letter which discusses the role of small, large and intermediate enterprises and which presents the self-government draft.

Jerzy Kropiwnicki
Deputy chairman, ZR, Lodz

I would like to bring up several subjects, but first I will discuss a particular subject so that it will not muddy up what I will say later--the question of the powers that the Net would like to acquire from the union. For first we heard that the Net needs no umbrella and then we heard that it demands the right to act in the name of the union. This, together with the pertinent recommendation of A. Gwiazda that self-government aktivs should receive special protection, begins to have particular importance. At the same time, I would like to ask Mr Milewski, since his name is still linked with one issue, namely, within the framework of the Net there is a distribution program of the so-called Polish Labor Party [PPP]. [as published] This is the so-called "secret bomb" which is to explode at a certain moment, and this program speaks of the fact that the PPP will build itself up on the basis of the Net. At this time, I would like to move on to the speech of Mr Jacek Kuron--if we are jumping into something, it is with open rather than closed eyes. I would like an answer to the question I am posing at this time.

And now I would like to move on to a problem we are facing at this moment, all the more so since Janek [Rulewski] sowed confusion rather than creating something constructive. We are in a difficult enough situation and perhaps we are out of breath over certain things. It is known that there is tension on the market; it is known that sooner or later we will all find ourselves under the enormous pressure of the situation. We felt it 2 weeks earlier, yesterday it hit Bujak, and when we return home it will begin to hit each of us hard.

This tension is associated with the lack of a guarantee of cards, with the reduction in food norms and with the expected price increases. It will create pressure on the union in the directions of some sort of action. If the union is not in a position to propose some alternative, it will be difficult to resist and this will force the union into protest actions. Not without reason do we plan a demonstration in Lodz; it was, at the same time, a certain way of opening the safety valve--we have gained 2 weeks in this way. We made the decision about the protest action at a time when we were receiving seven announcements a day of the spontaneous outburst of a strike in one, a second, a third plant. We also gain something else--the dramatic effort of provincial authorities to try to do something about this situation. We gain these two things at this time. Kutno as well, as far as I know, also gained these two things.

And now to move on to the program.

The problem lies in the fact that first--and here I agree with Janek [Rulewski]--we must answer two questions: Do we accept the assumption that the government

desires above all to dupe Solidarity, or does it primarily wish to lead the economy out of the situation it is now in and that it is inclined to play fair with Solidarity?

If we adopt the assumption that the government wants, above all, to extricate this economy from its current situation, then we must quickly decide under what circumstances we are inclined to negotiate with this government, what we want to get in return and for what.

I will begin with our cards, and we have many. There is the food problem--this is the first problem.

Question: Who is to tell society in a trustworthy manner that there is a food shortage, if there really is a shortage. This is the first card. The second card, likewise important, is the question of prices. Several governments in this country have already taken their turn at prices. It is probably the most important trump card that the union has in its hand. If we assume that we are to cooperate with the government to pull the economy through, then we must play these two cards. If so, then the question--for what? It would be nonsense to manipulate prices only for the sake of compensation. Not to mention the fact that until this time we have not really had an idea of how we should be compensated. For if the compensation is 100 percent for all, then it is really a joke. The price movement and the compensation movement are nothing but the official confirmation of the inflationary spiral and what's more--the thrusting of this inflationary spiral upward. If it is deficient, then someone must gain and someone must lose by it. And here we have the question--who? According to all of the ideas I know about, there are three possible directions of approach. The union, on the other hand, does not have a concept establishing which course of action it approves, and it appears that when someone goes to negotiate with the government on various questions--price compensations, family benefits, maternity benefits--each group goes out to the negotiations with a different concept of social policy.

These things must finally be put in order. Personally I am in favor of compensation based on income and nothing else. It should be based on the amount of income in order to compensate as much as possible; in order to raise the income and not the wages, the income of those who are most poorly paid. Of course, then we must realize who our opposition is in such a case. They include those who work hard in our country. And we have the argument that they work the hardest and must pay for it, and it was not their fault. Cooperation takes for granted an unequivocal statement--we now find ourselves in shit, regardless of who it was that pushed us in. But this is the first question--compensation. I believe that we sold prices for compensation, it would be too little. The second question is reform.

This gives us a good added bargaining card, because in this instance we are in a position to tell society: "Give the dog a hug, but in the name of what, in the name of some sort of prospect, in the name of the prospect that in a year, in so many months there will be an improvement in this field." We can have the chance for some kind of improvement. Fine, but it is not only that there will be reform, but that there will be public supervision over this reform and that our union will participate in this public supervision with its right of veto. In other words, generally it is not worth our becoming involved in the problem. Finally, the third issue, which must be settled in the reform--and here I do not agree with you, Janek [Rulewski]--is the self-governments.

Ladies and gentlemen, by chance I am an economist by virtue of my training, thus I am able to examine the various systems. For me, the managerial system in certain of its elements and perhaps in toto is generally better than the self-government system. But we must ask ourselves the question, is it better in Poland? This is the first basic question. Self-government in Poland is the only opportunity for us to attain directorial appointments on the basis of qualifications and not on the basis of political loyalty. And this is what we must come to terms with. In short--I am in favor of the self-government system because it is the only chance we have to keep incompetent political aktivs or persons who are politically loyal from muddying up to the directorial cadre. And in this regard, our concerns must be stated.

The next issue--you say, Janek [Rulewski], that for you the most important issue is the market. And again you are right, only it must be the market with obedient directors appointed from above. You will not have this during your lifetime, for when he finds out that his position does not depend on what is going on in the enterprise, but on whether he is obedient to superior authority, you will not have this market for all the People's Republic of China [not for all the tea in China]. We must also be aware of this. Finally, the third question.

I believe that the Net initiative should, of course, be supported and that we should be grateful to these people for the fact that they wanted to put so much effort and so much inclination into this. It is true that at this time there should be an immediate campaign to propagate materials entitled: "How to Set up Self-government." What's more, the resistance that exists in enterprises needs to be broken down, i.e., the resistance to taking on the responsibility for running the enterprise. It is no accident that a great leading plant of the Net in Lodz, the Marchlewski Works, as yet has no self-government. There are others which have it. And we must realize this. Furthermore, if we want to have self-government, we must know what sort of distribution of materials and training programs are absolutely necessary and urgent. Enough for now.

Jerzy Milewski:

I can repeat that which was approved at the Net meetings. Thus, the Net recommends that the union work out a uniform position concerning the issue of the country's socioeconomic reform...

Jerzy Kropiwnicki:

In concrete terms. I became informed and [illegible] over 2 days, had in hand materials concerning the establishment of the PPP on the basis of the Net in large plants. As it was told to me, these materials were received directly from a certain Milewski, who is a functionary of the Net, and they were signed by him. Secondly, I was informed that the establishment of the PPP is a bomb which the Net will be preparing in a short time. This opinion is derived from one of the aktivs leading Net plants. I would like an answer to these two questions.

Jerzy Milewski:

First: The material referring to the PPP was written by me as an authorial piece and should not be associated with the Net. Second: You ought to read the Net

communiques in which the Net position is precisely outlined and the private opinions of aktivs are defined. The latter represent another issue and they should not be quoted. With regard to the material, I will give it to you right now and you will have it for keeps and not only for 2 days. Please read it from beginning to end. Better yet, begin from the end, and then the matter will be clear. And as far as my personal opinion is concerned, i.e., an opinion which has nothing to do with the Net, it is clear to me that there is no sense in our burying our heads in the sand and pretending that there is no political vacuum in Poland. On the other hand, the issue of when we should begin to fill this void is another matter.

Karil Modzelewski
Member, ZR Presidium, Wroclaw:

Ladies and gentlemen: Janek Rulewski presented the issues in a very basic way and in a way which does not allow us to overlook at least certain features of his address. Above all he said that there is no sense in our involving ourselves--at least that is how I understood it--at this time either with reform or with economic self-government because these problems cannot be solved until more basic problems are solved. According to Janek [Rulewski], the problem of total national and state sovereignty is such a problem.

I must say that there is surely no one in this hall who does not regard full national and state sovereignty as his own personal ideal. However, the safe way to divide up a bearskin is to do it when he is no longer alive. Talk about ideals--always noble--if it is to have any practical meaning, must be done in such a way as to show others how the ideal is to be attained. Otherwise there is only the reiteration of the ideal and the reiteration of the slogan which, in any case, is not a program.

Ladies and gentlemen, Z. Bujak's metaphor, repeated here by Jacek [Kuron], of the trade union of sailors who are on a sinking ship, needs to be supplemented. If the ship sinks, the sailors generally do not bother with a trade union. We are on a ship which has an effective trade union; meanwhile, the captain is paralyzed and unable to speak. (...) Hence the curious situation in which the trade union of sailors must occupy themselves with saving the ship. It seems to me that there is no escape from this situation and, in light of this, we must undertake this project. This is an about-face in the policy of our union and that is why I can understand Janek's [Rulewski] unease.

Until now we have resolutely spoken otherwise, until the Net checked this. There is something to be preserved from this earlier position, and we must tell ourselves exactly what this is. Until now we have said: we are not taking on any joint responsibility for pulling the country out of the crisis, because that is the duty of the government and of the state. We are in a supervisory position and things have reached the situation in which those people who praised us to the skies may now stone us for sitting with our hands folded while the ship was sinking and the larder was already flooded.

We cannot maintain the attitude in which we refuse to accept political responsibility for urging a program. I repeat, urging a program, not managing it. Urging a program for getting us out of the crisis, the only exit for this being, in my conviction, self-government. Not only by means of the economic reform associated

with this, but by means of the self-government. On the other hand, if we also assumed responsibility for direct management, beyond the extraordinary situation of which our Lodz colleagues rightly spoke, we would be departing from a principle we were formerly right to hold. A dramatic situation may ensue forcing us to the active strike spoken about. But except for this situation, we may not assume the responsibility for management, likewise for self-government management, because we have structured ourselves as a sociopolitical oppositional movement which arose as a trade union and must retain this character for our own trustworthiness as well. We may not lose ourselves in one or the other aspect, in the sociopolitical movement or in the union movement.

Thus, we cannot be a union movement which is, at the same time, an administrator in some way, whether this is in a plant, or on a nationwide scale. And for this reason, both the creation of the self-government and its operation must be independent of our union. The self-government must be independent from Solidarity. This must be stressed because it is not always clear, even in our documents. And Solidarity must be independent of the self-government, among other reasons, because if the self-government system arises, if we succeed in gaining the system we want, it could bypass the dangers which it did not bypass in Yugoslavia.

These social dangers represent the only rational argument advanced by the official propaganda against the self-government solutions proposed by the Net. This argument is based on the fact that these are solutions leading to the occurrence of new social injustices, that plants with sound investments, which have modern machinery, which have the power to penetrate the market or, finding themselves in a monopolistic situation, will be able to use this advantage to attain the particular goals of their work force. Weaker plants, on the other hand, and weaker regions economically speaking will be crushed by this. Despite all of the plusses of the self-management system in Yugoslavia, this is, in fact, what has happened there.

Unlike Yugoslavia, we have the opportunity to bring the self-government system into being under conditions of the existence of an authentic, powerful trade movement, such as Solidarity is. And Solidarity is in a position, through institutional solutions themselves, through the self-government concept and through the distribution of the national income, to advocate such principles as allow for the mitigation of the consequences of the self-government system which we consider to be negative. For this reason, I believe that we cannot overlook this issue and we cannot do without a special kind of resolution in this KK.

Vicarious conflicts are often flung upon us, and perhaps some sort of vicarious conflicts will now be flung upon us, or perhaps we will become entangled unintentionally in a conflict solely on the basis of market supply. We must know how to show the nation that the issue of the market supply catastrophe, of the hunger catastrophe, of the shortage of medicines, cigarettes, soap, laundry detergent, of everything, of the shortage of raw materials and the impossibility of working are issues of the functioning of the system. And without self-government reform, we will not clear up this issue. Only when we manage to link these two issues in the social consciousness will we have a strong initial position for battle. That is the first matter. The second: Our trump cards have already been discussed. I agree with the remarks of Colonek Kropiwnicki and I agree that our strongest defense lies in the fact that we are indispensable authorities in some way. If this is so, the way in which we are indispensable authorities is in the attainment of public

assent to social "nonresistance" to drastic price increases. The increase in prices is indispensable for the liquidation of inflation, but for our part, we should not consent to an increase only for the purpose of the liquidation of the inflationary curve, because the liquidation of the inflationary curve itself will not lead us out of the crisis. To the extent that it occurs while the old economic and administrative system is being maintained, the source of the crisis will become fixed and our chances for pulling out of the crisis will be wasted. And we should tell this to society.

It is agreed that there should be a schedule for reform tasks, that public supervision of reform should be secured and that the self-government system should be accepted. For this reason I believe that a resolution with regard to this issue is essential, although there have already been numerous KKP declarations on many issues, and these declarations have very often replaced action on our part. For example, protest actions. Thus, in this case, I believe that such a resolution is essential because people will no longer stand for the fact that there is no flour or butter, that there are no cigarettes, that there is nothing, that there are no medicines and no soap. The eruption of social conflict may threaten us with a conflict which will be played out outside of the authority, Solidarity structure, i.e., such a conflict, the course of which will be bloody and the results of which will be tragic, known.

Hence I believe that we cannot delay. Putting it off until the congress would be disadvantageous even now, although we certainly cannot afford a fundamental, well-thought-out and well-developed program--more time is needed for that. What is necessary is at least a call to society issued by the KKP more or less signaling our position.

It is also indispensable that in this struggle it should also be explained to the people that the food catastrophe and the supply catastrophe are not a post-August phenomenon, but they are, above all, a crisis issue engendered by the functioning of the system before August. It must also be explained that the way out of this catastrophe is reform and the self-government system. And for this we need a voice, a voice of which we have deen deprived.

Please take heed of the fact that the sabotaging of the agreement concerning access to mass media has been intensified in recent weeks. At least, such has been the case in our region where matters of market supply and self-government are concerned. All announcements of regional authorities have been blocked at local radio and television stations. The situation is similar elsewhere, for we are dealing with a campaign which endeavors to perplex by means of a very old method.

I do not know where Janek Rulewski got the idea that the idea of self-government is a Bolshevik idea. (...) I would like to remind you that the propaganda arguments which have been advanced against the Net draft are those same arguments which were in operation against Yugoslavia during the attacks on Tito. Anarchosyndicalism, group ownership of property and the like. This must be unmasked, it must be shown that this is not true, it must be shown that "nomenklatura" is the concern here. This is how things really are: If an enterprise is not to be managed by means of orders and distribution lists, but by economic means, then the appointment and dismissal of the director by superior authorities is unnecessary in general for the management of the enterprise by a central council. On the other hand, it is

necessary only for the purpose of preserving "nomenklatura," or the privilege of the central local party apparatus to appoint its own people to these positions. In reality, this is incompatible with the requirements of expert direction, and only the self-government can break this down--this must be told to the people.

We must have somewhere from which to say this, we must demand every available means of access to the mass media with regard to the issue of the food crisis and threatening famine. This we must do according to the principles which were signed by the government on 30 January. This issue should not be referred to in a general way, so that the people may be made aware of what is going on, what the issue is about which we are demanding to be heard on the radio and on television. Right now we are not being threatened with the sort of attack that took place in Bydgoszcz. Today, tomorrow, maybe the day after tomorrow, yes. On the other hand, we are in a situation which, who knows, may be more menacing. The fortunes of the country hang in the balance, as do the fortunes of the union, and because of this we must consider how we can repair and revitalize our decisionmaking system. But this must be done now; we cannot wait for the congress.

The issue of the Warsaw understanding and an evaluation of this understanding has surfaced here. I believe that the document itself was not the best. It was only one of the weaker documents which have been signed. Its results, on the other hand, have been considerably superior to the document itself. I recall that it brought about the full registration, under better conditions than those vaguely announced, of individual farmers, the release of political prisoners (this concession was recently withdrawn) and a whole series of promising things which, unfortunately, were held up because of the stalemate of the negotiations. We had several months' calm to set up our electoral law. We had not had this for a long time, and it happened not as a result of the understanding, but as a result of the fact that the course of this conflict changed the structure of forces on the public arena. For besides us there were also other forces operative, there were horizontal structures, the dissent within the party and the like. This was before the congress.

Please keep in mind that things will be different after the congress. Cards were given out, which considerably reduces the possibility of our hoping to count on some sort of alliance with the party rank-and-file. Meanwhile, at that time it functioned quite vigorously, and even during the period of the Central Committee plenums we found ourselves in a fairly good situation as the union. At the same time, this understanding cost us a great deal. It was a shock to the union and I spoke of this at the last KKP meeting I attended, that is, when I tendered my resignation. From this perspective, I would like to say that we incurred this cost because the decisionmaking system within the union was not formulated beforehand. This exploded during the Warsaw agreement talks. The harm lies in the fact that the union did not have, and moreover continues not to have, any mandate endowed by the body which would be permanently capable of decisionmaking, and these decisions must somehow be made. It is a pure fiction that Walesa should personally make all of the huge mass of decisions. It is always a group of people who does this. But if decisions are not undertaken by a group which has the union mandate and which has been authorized to do this, for we do not have such a group, then there will always be problems both with trust and with trustworthiness.

For this reason, it seems to me that at this time the union must close its ranks somewhat and change this situation in which there is no one to undertake current

decisions in a fully legal manner. Hence the recommendation that the body spoken above be elected, i.e., a body to work permanently in Gdansk until the time of the congress. The congress will decide the further makeup of things. I would like to ask you one question: Do you agree that this type of appeal to society should be made at this meeting of the KKP? If so, then I do not think it is possible to work it out earlier than tomorrow, or this evening. Is the group on motions to do this? In a word, I am waiting for instruction on this issue from you, ladies and gentlemen, as a member of the groups on motions as well.

Janusz Onyszkiewicz
Member, KKP Presidium
Press spokesman, KKP
Member, ZR Presidium, Warsaw

My task is easier for many of you have already expressed much of what I intended to say. I will point out two things. I think that Jacek [Kuron] is entirely correct. At this time it is not appropriate to discuss the very fundamental matter of the Sejm. But there is one matter about which discussion should be initiated, for the situation, in sum, is that the Sejm no longer is the rubber stamp it used to be. Various things have changed in it, and, for that reason, we cannot and do not abandon the idea of bringing pressure to bear on the delegates. But pressures will be unsuccessful so long as we are unclear about how to make the delegates responsible for their actions. Briefly speaking, what the mechanism would be for the recall of delegates.

In our legal system, and practically speaking, to my knowledge, a delegate cannot be recalled. It would be as necessary to begin a discussion of the way in which delegates can be recalled as it is unnecessary to discuss the election of delegates or the electoral law. That would be a certain pressure that we could bring to bear upon the delegates. As far as the general situation of the country is concerned, I think that, as I have already stated, the authority in the party was washed away after the last congress. Formerly, it was the center. There was that Central Committee, including the secretaries of voivodship committees, and the tip of the pyramid was the Politburo. Now what is clearly visible is that the Central Committee contains a multitude of strangers to each other, who came together completely by coincidence. It contains very few secretaries of voivodship committees, so that I will say that authority has drained out of the Central Committee and will fundamentally come to concentrate itself in the individuals who remain from before, namely, the big four.

In this situation, the role of the government is likely to begin to grow, and what kind of effect can all this tend to have? This kind: that certainly, as Jacek [Kuron] has correctly stated, the authorities will continue to have no public, no listeners. But it will be easier for them to shape certain policies. They will be able to react more swiftly and, thereby, can more easily catch us in a situation where the union has been too slow or too late in informing us about some move by the authorities.

The union has always tended to wait until the last minute and only react to some move on the part of the authorities at 5 minutes to 12, as it were. Now the union can no longer permit itself to operate in that fashion. The union cannot react 5 minutes before 12 o'clock, especially when faced with the possibility of swift

action by the authorities, and an even shorter time for possible reaction. Therefore, the union truly needs the executive board spoken of here by both Lech Walesa and Karol Modzelewski. We must choose a body which, unlike the presidium which met from time to time, will operate in an up-to-the-minute way and can plan and, finally, carry out a course of action.

Bogdan Lis
Member, ZR Presidium, Gdansk:

Ladies and gentlemen, I assumed that the activities thus far of the union in the matter of self-government were correct. Last year, when the authorities were attempting to establish self-governments, the union had no sort of understanding of self-government, was not prepared for their formation and, thus, blocked them. At the present time, when we have such understanding, and the authorities know that we do, they, in turn, are blocking self-government. In conjunction with this, I believe we ought to continue to maintain our present policy and really strongly push for the formation of these self-governments now. What Jacek Kuron said and what I think we all agree about is our obligation to apply all the means of pressure at our disposal toward the establishment of self-government.

Here we must clearly express to ourselves the tactics that would be involved in that thrust. If it were something by way of an active strike--such as Lodz proposed--then we must realize the kinds of consequences that that can entail. If we decide on an active strike, then we must work out that far-reaching tactic. We know that a strike of that sort is a certain type of taking power. If it is very dragged out by the action of the government, we must consider that the activity of the union will be suspended. Finally, a state of emergency may even be established. Given that situation, if altercations should arise, I think that, while continuing to apply all sorts of pressures, we ought to attempt, nevertheless, to arrive at an understanding with the authorities about that subject. For coming to an understanding, I would propose not only those forms which have been used thus far--negotiations--but I think, for example, that we could invite to the next meeting of the KKP the chairman of the Sejm Commission that is involved with questions of the economic reform, questions of self-government, and the like. And not only the [illegible], but also the deputies in the commission. We have not tried this sort of thing as far. I do not suppose that this would have some decisive significance, but we should try to take advantage of the possibility.

In the tactics of the struggle for self-government, I think that we ought to work out for ourselves a more concrete policy. Till now each region has written about these self-governments as it is able and as it wishes. I think that this ought to be corrected. Our propaganda along these lines must be targeted more accurately and all the regions ought to be obliged to publish articles among which some should be written with a view to preparing society for the struggle for self-government. If self-government is to be authentic, it must involve the possibility of efforts directed toward leading our enterprises and our economy in general out of the crisis. It will probably happen, therefore, that in many plants workers will have to be let go. And it will be the self-government that is letting these people go, or the director will be doing so on the recommendation of the self-government.

In the instance that Solidarity supports the idea of self-government, we, as a union, will not be able to raise a protest. In that light, I think that before

self-governments are introduced, before self-governments become a fact, a system of guaranteed unemployment compensation must be developed, so that we do not later stand before an accomplished fact that people are out of work and there are no guaranteed unemployment benefits. These matters should be the subject of separate negotiations involving dislocations, but I associate them with self-government since in those instances, the union will not be able to oppose self-governments, and it is a matter which, for one thing, is a strictly union matter. Further more, it would be a good idea to define clearly who would bear responsibility in the event of the bankruptcy of an enterprise: the director or the self-government?

Krzysztof Sreglowski
Deputy chairman, ZR Slupsk:

The first thing that is obvious to me is some sort of impression and concern that the self-governments will, in a certain way, come to dominate the trade unions. I think, ladies and gentlemen, that it is very good that they will dominate. At last, someone from among us will remove the weight of matters for which we are responsible at the present time. The self-governments will be a body empowered to settle a complete range of matters with which we must occupy ourselves now. It follows that I would not agree with Mr Rulewski's having relegated the matter of selection of directors to the sixth place on his list. I think the matter should be one of the first in view of the fact that it is intended for self-government to work or cooperate with the director and not to quarrel, haggle and discuss incessantly with him. Their work, therefore, will lay itself out according to their selection and establishment of him. One thing we can agree upon for sure, ladies and gentlemen, as the first order of business is the immediate calling up of founding committees. Aside from that, I think that we wish to proceed too far for, as one of the previous speakers noted, we cannot thrust upon a plant the idea that by the end of the year, 31 December, they have to select their self-governments. We must allow a certain amount of give, the possibility for internal actions in the plant which is setting up self-government for itself, which would establish it at such a tempo and time as would be most appropriate for itself. I would envision here, then, more the establishment of principles than the final settlement of matters.

There is no way here to avoid the mention of a matter which is most painful for us, a matter which affects many things for us, the matter of access to the mass media. And here in the name of many members of the region I must express the complaint that the matter is being shunted aside constantly, that the matter should be confronted more directly. This immediately brings to mind what colleague Lis said. The expression of a sort of "coming to an understanding with the authorities" does not mean anything to the unionists any more. In this case we must change our terminology at times. There is not anything to "come to an understanding" about. What emerges from this coming to terms? It came home to us that we must settle some things. We are so powerful a movement, we represent so large a group of people, that we have the right to make demands from some people who have jurisdiction and often receive for it unlimited salaries to settle these matters for us.

I have been charged by my Regional Board with the presentation of still another issue which troubles us in a certain way. Ladies and gentlemen, the LOT matter. We do not want to impinge on the independence and self-government of the KZL [LOT Plant Committee]. We must realize that we may be facing a confrontation provoked more than once by our authorities, as happened in 1970 and 1976. Who knows if

this conflict will not explode around us, as one of the previous speakers has said. If it explodes behind us or beside us, ladies and gentlemen, I do not want to make dire prophecies here, it will mean the beginning of the end for us. It would be good to consider whether we should provoke such a conflict ourselves if there is no other solution possible and warning sounds come from all the administrations. In this way we would not wait for the authorities to make a provocation and we would, at the same time, score victories in self-governments, access to the mass media, the institution of economic reforms, the censorship law, and so forth, and of course the catastrophic food situation which touches us at the present time.

Voices were raised here on the subject of the Net. Example: the Net is a piece of good work. Without overloading the KKP or any of the regions, we can, from time to time, call up certain bodies for the settlement of some very serious issues. Such a body should be dissolved at the conclusion of its tasks. We ought not create permanent, artificial structures since they do not strengthen our union.

Krystyna Sobierajska
Deputy Chairman of the Voivodship Unit, Lower Silesia Region in Legnica:

All of us here probably agree that the self-governments ought to and must come into being.

On the other hand, we should come to a clear realization of the role of our union in the question of creating self-governments, since we agree that we are dealing with two separate issues--self-government and the trade union. I believe that the trade union has an enormous role to play at the moment that the self-governments are created, i.e., our input in the matter of a concept of economic reform and the way this reform should be introduced. Our task in this regard will be to establish support for the founding committees of workers self-governments. Consequently, the union is helping to set up founding committees. When these committees gain autonomy, they themselves will take over the task of creating self-governments and of lending them a specific style and character of operation.

The way I understand it, this is how the issue should shape up: We are anxious, in all likelihood, for a law on self-government. We may doubt that this law is really indispensable, but if we recognize that it is needed, then our task is to urge the passage of such a law as would be to our satisfaction. Thus, we must find some sort of pressure tactics. One of the fundamental pressure tactics, it seems to me--this is nothing original since it makes use of certain, already existing concepts--is the creation of workers councils [rady pracownicze] in a form which anticipates the law, and the creation and assumption of the appropriate functions by these workers councils. Thus, self-governments should be created so that their operation would create a situation which would make the new law applicable to already existing forms. A condition for the success of the work of the self-governments is the taking of quick action in this regard, as well as action which is qualitatively good. Until now this quality has somehow not been mentioned, but I believe that it is not a trifling matter. We must undertake such tasks as would have the effect of the conscious acceptance of cadres for self-government.

One of the earlier speakers expressed doubts about the fate of small plants. I think that we must assembly a group of experts not only on the national level or in large regions, but likewise in smaller centers. These experts would undertake

to carry out consciousness-raising/training activities on the subjects of reform and the functioning of self-governments among work forces. Likewise publications are essential, but beyond this, the spoken word, the word of the expert addressed directly to work forces, must have the effect of bringing around the work forces, for we will not create these self-governments by force.

It turns out that, for the most part, these are matters for aktivs and not for union members themselves who still do not know very much about why this bargaining is going on and what purpose it serves. For this reason, I think that in every region and every smaller center a group of experts should be called together who would know how to conduct consciousness-raising activities among work forces. First, large factories should be selected where founding committees would have already carried out such activities. Next, these large plants would assist in the creation of founding committees in smaller factories. I think that this is the only possible method.

Hence, Mr Kuron's idea of Self-Government Initiatives Clubs [KIS-Klub Inicjatyw Samorzadowych] is also interesting. In such a club, the views of those people who would be the initiators of an issue within the environment would be weighed--their views on the subjects of reform and the role of workers self-governments.

I am in favor of Mr Modzelewski's proposal on the issue of an appeal concerning these very problems constructed in such a way as Mr Modzelewski suggested.

Zbigniew Bujak
Member, KKP Presidium
Chairman, ZR, Warsaw:

Ladies and gentlemen, I consider discussion within the KKP to be a form of opinion formation within the union. These opinions do not have to be presented in the shape of a resolution, a communique or a KKP announcement. I treat this exchange of models and opinions as the molding of opinion which will later serve as the KKP opinion if I see that it is a majority opinion. And this is why I am in favor of frank, general discussion which enables us to reach such a broad KKP position. For this reason, I would like to call your attention to several points.

First, I believe that we must have a very high opinion of our party-governmental authorities in order to make the judgment that they are intentionally causing disorganization. I think that in order to disorganize, one must be very well organized. It must be pointed out that the Bydgoszcz conflict ultimately shattered the executive machinery of authority. It broke down the provincial party structure, which has since that time ceased to be an arm of the Central Committee. It demonstrated conclusively that the MO [Citizens' Militia] is not dependable. Likewise, it substantially excluded at least a large part of the SB [Security Service] from decisionmaking. The SB is now, to a great extent, independent and autonomous. In other words, we cannot say that the market or other matters have purposely been disorganized.

On this basis, I would like to say a few words concerning the functioning of the union and the functioning of the KKP so that we may become aware of what we are capable, of what the KKP in general gives this country and what it cannot give.

I think that we are really in a position in our meeting here to state what people expect of us and thus what they expect of the union concerning particular issues which arise. They expect a great deal. Before this time our country did not have such possibilities, and now it does.

But we also have something else. Thanks to the very broad possibilities of the union, we are in a position to determine the directions tasks must take in order to solve these problems. And so we have determined that the entire problem of economic reform can be overcome by means of the creation of self-governments.

In this way we have determined that we will accomplish the whole reform of social life by means of democratic elections to people's councils. As yet this has not entered our discussions, but it will arise soon enough--this is evident--and we may say that such a program is taking shape for us. We can determine which tasks should be undertaken toward reforming the food market. At least, in a short time we will be in a position to determine this.

We are in a position to determine what ought to be done to liquidate housing problems. Tasks should at least move in this direction. Likewise we know what ought to be done for the attainment of a greater degree of self-government in the country. At this time that is determined by the union.

On the other hand, we must be totally aware of the fact that at this moment our possibilities are absolutely disappearing. This is all that we were are in a position to do and build.

And so, ladies and gentlemen, I do not believe in the idea that we do not have access to the mass media because the authorities will not give it to us. We do not have access primarily because we do not have the machinery which would enable us to take it. And that is clear to me at this time. If, up to now, we have not had a full measure of law and order in this country, it is likewise because until now we have not developed the machinery to implement even those adjustments which fell into this same subject, which are far-reaching adjustments, in the working group. But here we must clearly tell ourselves that we still do not have the executive machinery. Of course, this machinery is being created, but it is being created very slowly. Just as self-government is being set up too slowly, the machinery for bringing about law and order in our country is very slow to be created. It is the machinery of building an independent cooperative for solving housing problems. The issue of people's councils of their financial independence and their independent management in their own locale, is at a standstill. And now this machinery will be set in motion. It will be set in motion very slowly and here the entire initiative of the Workers Initiatives Club [KIS--Klub Inicjatyw Spolecznych], which I likewise support wholeheartedly, will aim in this direction, to create this machinery and to set it in motion.

We must still be aware of one thing, that the tendency toward the union's having to do everything, toward its having to solve particular social problems from beginning to end has nothing in common with social democracy, no matter how great the intraunion democracy. It is nothing more than the reflection of the whole process of the centralization and the monopolization of all tasks by the party during the last 30 or 30 years. At this moment, even if particular initiatives, such as the Net initiative, are born, I am vehemently opposed to the concentration

of all of these initiatives around the union. Let them stand beside the union. Let them operate independently. The Net may come out with 10 drafts, of which will preeminently suit us and then we can support these, lending them great scope and power. Eight drafts may arise, as, e.g., the calling together of a political party, drafts which we do not support and which thus have less of a chance. And this method of cooperation between the union and newly created social organizations must be adopted.

I would like to move on to the general relationship of the union with self-government. Obviousky, self-government, as it is being created, will be our opponent. This is something everyone very much fears. I do not envision any other possibility here. It will sit at the opposite side of the table during discussion of the working out of a program for the enterprise, of the developmental program or construction, or the continued operation of the enterprise. Self-government will take the side representing the interests of the enterprise, i.e., until this time, the interests of the directorship. The trade union will sit on the other side as the representative of the workers' interests. And just as here the whole union is trying to work out a common position in the confrontation with the authorities, so later it will have to work out its position in confrontation with the self-government.

Of course, the issue of proclaiming a strike will then be much more difficult because both groups of representatives will have been chosen by the workers. And here we will have a struggle of programs. Attempts will be made to solve conflicts through referendums, through gaining the support of the work force by one or the other program. This will demand a great deal of activism from both sides. In my opinion, this will help in the formation of both organizations and it will foster the democratization of public life in the country.

KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] did not approach the Municipal Office to register--it merely arose. The union did not fight to be registered first, it first arose. The workers self-governments [samorzady pracownicze] likewise are not coming forth about a proper resolution, they are first coming into being. I think that this procedure, this manner of functioning should be preserved.

Bronislaw Sliwinski
ZR in Koszalin, chairman, Szczecinek Unit:

I would like to return briefly to the general situation of the country as presented by Celinski and Kuron. That introduction gave us a good picture and in principle probably made everyone aware that outside the union a vacuum has developed, and I believe the Union is now considering the direction in which to strike out and about what to occupy itself with concretely on a larger scale.

From many comments, one can gain the impression that plant self-government constitutes some kind of marvelous panacea for the resolution of all problems. But I have a single question: What happens if it does not work out that way?

I am firmly opposed to the notion that self-government itself alone should preoccupy the entire union. We may lose ourselves again in the void. I believe we must undertake certain grassroots efforts about these self-governments, even more so wherever plans are already in a more advanced state.

Nothing hinders us, however, from undertaking such efforts from that other side, the political side, from the top. If, for example, some measure is rammed through the Sejm, a measure not to the liking of the work force, then bluntly, with our aid, the work forces will not implement it. Such a measure will remain moribund. And the work forces will be able to do as they wish.

There was also talk about territorial self-governments. Here the matter is entirely different. I would like briefly to say something about political action. Probably not everyone considers the ultimate significance of what, in general, our union represents in our legal system. Constitutionally it is: "a social organization of working people." What kinds of possibilities for purely political activity does the constitution give? That constitution which exists gives us many possibilities indeed. Including associating ourselves with elections for territorial self-governments. We ought to carry out such things. Meanwhile, we take roundabout ways to attain the same goals that might be reached by direct action. Action about which I have spoken.

Now, the very question of elections which was raised here. In accordance with the constitution, it is the duty of our organization to take part in something of this sort. Therefore, I make the following motion: that a commission come into being in the KKP, one that might be called, let us say, political or politicosocial, which would occupy itself with these problems. At least for the purpose of making people aware about the kinds of possibilities for action that exist.

Jan Waszkiewicz
Member, ZR Presidium, Wroclaw:

I missed some elements in the economic analysis of our country. One such element was mentioned here by colleague Palka from Lodz. I want to point out that we are not the first example in history of a self-limiting revolution.

Indeed, the majority of revolutions had a first phase which was self-limiting, after which came a second, bloody phase, usually occasioned by an outbreak of hunger. They say the Bastille was stormed because of a rumor that it contained large stores of grain.

Ladies and gentlemen, the foregoing renders an idea of the drama of our present situation. Either the union has the foresight and capacity to control the situation which can develop at any moment, or not. Incidents of hunger, let us say, for the time being of a mild character, exist in the entire country. This is a very serious matter, and here the union must prepare itself, if only for the sake of stocking up a reserve, for direct actions such as: taking responsibility for control of food supplies, and especially getting under control the situation of that food going to waste. That is unavoidable as no one will forgive us if we do not do it. It is one of the elements which are partially included in yesterday's resolution concerned with our response to the food crisis, but it is worth stressing as it is of utmost importance for the union, for the union line of action with respect to what will happen in our country.

A second element from the morning's analysis. I believe that what happened at the PZPR Congress is worth noting from a certain point of view. It is the next step in the regionalization of our country. If our authorities begin to consolidate,

this will begin from the voivodship level. I know this from Wroclaw in my contacts with party officials "at the levels," who have come out against all sorts of ideas of the central administration, but were as delighted as children when they had succeeded in pushing their provincial secretary up to the Politburo.

In addition to fortifying the executive authority of our union at the central level, we must be prepared in the regions for more effective action because it is there that the first, more or less coordinated, actions of authority take place. Yet another element speaks in favor of decentralization. I do not believe that those who were not selected for central authorities will readily submit themselves to all kinds of decisions. This will strengthen these decentralization tendencies in the party, and, consequently, in the whole apparatus of authority. I turn your attention to this element because it may be of essence to the manner of functioning of the union within the near future.

The self-government issues. Much has been said here about "nomenklatura," about the rights of directors. I would like to bring one more thing to your attention. The establishment of self-governments in production plants is an immediate dismissal notice from work for several hundred thousand people who sit in the associations and in general in the central economic apparatus of our country. The plants of the Unitra association wish to refuse obedience to this association and, in this way, to send the whole association out under the blue skies. To a great extent, this will reflect upon the conflict over the self-governments, for there will be several hundred thousand people personally interested in repressing the newly arising self-governments.

There is, at the same time, a second element in this issue. For example, in Wroclaw the selection of directors in several plants was made. One of the motives for this action was the fact that in these central offices there is a mass of people who, in the face of a reduction in the number of employees, wish to assume directorial positions within plants. The plants, in defense of this, executed and will execute the choices of directors and will make decisions concerning self-governments. It seems to me that the situation is such that the self-governments are arising and will continue to arise whether we like it or not. There is only the question, will this movement run its course in a manner that is controlled by us to some degree?

(...)This same thing is important from the viewpoint of union strategy. If we do not take up this slogan, then someone else will profit by it in opposition to and at the same time to spite our union.

Colleague Rulewski has also expressed his unease over the question of who will be the aktivs. At the plant I work in, which is a relatively atypical concern, self-government was established and what happened? It did not weaken the union as far as the cadre was concerned, but twice as many people began to be intent upon acting and quick to act. I also think that going in for this idea will not weaken the union, but it will strengthen the social movement by new hundreds of thousands of people who, at this time, are not active. It seems to me that what is needed here is a massive propaganda and informational campaign conducted by the union, with the self-governments themselves, after such union assistance, establishing themselves at their own expense, taking upon themselves the responsibility for employee work forces. This will, of course, give rise to certain tensions and inequities.

And here the union must be prepared. Of course, not in the sense that it will be ready to repress the self-governments, but that when all of these negative consequences appear, it will be prepared to undertake some kind of position to help organize the rank and file or to help settle conflicts within plants and the like.

Thus, these things must be explained to people, so as not to keep them in the dark about it. Self-government should not be represented as a panacea, but merely as that thing which offers them an opportunity, that light at the end of the long tunnel that is this crisis.

What I have said here is in accordance with the position of the board of our region and was worked out in consultation with the factories of the region.

Andrzej Wielowieyski
Expert, OPS-Z of the KKP, Warsaw:

I will briefly discuss three issues. One concerns Janek Rulewski. What Rulewski said at the beginning of his address stressed that he feels some uncertainty about what the union is, that a sense of vision is lacking, that we do not know why we exist--whether we are struggling over shoes, or wages or ration cards--that many people feel this way and that this is not good. The KKP must have a clear vision and I think that most of us do have a sense of who we are and what we are to do.

The issue here is crystal clear, and Rulewski's attack on Walesa is senseless because we are, of course, a trade union. We are a trade union of a very special type because in a communist country governed by communists such a union does not and cannot exist on principles other than ours. This means on the basis of the principles of territorial activism, interindustrial branch activism, or universal activism, which represents substantial social power. The power to penetrate and the power to defend. We are representatives of all workers [pracownik] and their families, and consequently we are the opponents of authority in the area of the entire social policy.

For this reason, some accuse us of being a political movement because we quarrel with the authorities about this and that, we bellow out something and undoubtedly take the issue out beyond the factory. We are summoned to this task as the representative of the people, as the union concerned with the statute in which this is written, and that is what is expected of us. This fits in with the concept of our type of trade union. In order for us to exist we must ensure for ourselves those legal and systemic guarantees which will enable us to act. They must likewise ensure freedom of information and rules of law and order and the development of political and systemic forms, above all the self-government and people's councils, that is, taken from the rank and file and not, as Rulewski envisioned on the basis of his own emotions and desires, from the top. The vision that we are a special union with far-reaching tasks is something which the KKP simply must represent in an unequivocal and strong way in order to defeat the arguments accusing us of some sort of dual authority, for while it is not a policy in the sense of a struggle for authority, they are all political and social issues which enter into the sphere of the issues of defending the interests of the people. This correlates with our tasks and this vision should be presented at the congress and should lead to program recommendations.

I propose that we come to the realization that the following situation is possible: that on this ship, which is perhaps not yet sinking but which has been rocked by a heavy storm, it may become necessary for us to help steer it on its course. The situation may arise that today's helmsmen will let go of the wheel or they will weaken and they will no longer be able to manage it.

But if it came to the need for creating forms of public rescue, for creating some sort of economic structures, some sort of councils, or for bringing someone into the government, but, perhaps there is someone here not suited. In any event, this ought not to be directly Solidarity's task because then we would lose the function of being that direct defender and supervisor over workers' issues and issues related to the people, were it to take responsibility for political and economic decisionmaking. Let us differentiate these tasks of the union as a movement of social control for revindication.

Now to the matter of self-government. It seems to me that today we ought to make an unequivocal resolution or announcement which will afford the people total clarity, which will support work forces and the Net and which will be an appropriate point of departure for negotiations on government proposals in this area.

At the same time, let us not be overly enthusiastic. Let us treat the matter with cold determination and perseverance, because we must do it. Let us, on the other hand, be aware that it will be difficult, thankless and, the way I see it, in the initial period, not at all pretty or effective. There will be many failures not only in small factories, which are the least prepared for this, but likewise in many large ones. Above all a fundamental fact is that this will be difficult because from the viewpoint of informational logic and economic issues, the creation of self-governments ought to be the effect, the result of certain attempts to reform and to transform the enterprise, and not its beginning. The self-government created by us under conditions of centralization, bureaucracy and inoperative economic mechanisms, will struggle against very tough issues and it will alienate people because it will have to bear the burder of these defeats.

At the same time we are aware that there is no other way out, that the self-government movements must be developed by us, supported as much as possible, aggressively.

Let us only be aware that we are in an unfavorable reform situation. The thing should not run its course in this way. For this reason, let us not delude ourselves; we must do this and we must support it. Plant commissions ought to support the self-government ideas and expand them. On the other hand, let us take care to see that other moves and other forms are enacted fairly quickly, for only then will self-government be able to be set in motion. I am not at all certain that people are all that anxious to read what we write on 1 or 1 1/2 pages about the general situation because we, ladies and gentlemen, will make no revelations. And I fear the depreciation and the devaluation of this type of announcement. There is such a propensity toward declarative graphomania. What we want in this most important matter of the moment should be expressed. Everybody knows this. I mean, on the issue of self-government. On the issue of trade unions, something has been published and the struggle will ensue. On the other hand, I am afraid of depreciation, which does not mean that those organs through which we are able to express ourselves and form public opinion and exert pressure on it should not have some sort of clear and precise doctrine, but this has nothing to do with our writing or not writing 1 1/2 pages.

The issue of clubs. I repeat what I said several days ago at a conference of the Mazowsze Regional Board, when we were considering the problem of the creation of those clubs spoken of by Jacek Kuron. We need this type of initiative. The union needs some sort of life, meetings, revitalization of ideas and the stimulation and formation of its people. I am personally in favor of such initiatives. At the same time, I caution against them. I believe that this type of initiative ought to be concentrated in those forms which are the most universal and which, in my opinion, are the most effective, i.e., in workers' universities. We should have our own joint initiatives, meeting places, and planes of meetings and confrontations. These should be things which strengthen the union.

On the other hand, such an initiative taken basically by one environment has something to offer and can revitalize, but it can also be a somewhat enervating element. I would call for people from various milieus, of various political beliefs, believers and nonbelievers to meet in our workers' universities, to create program councils and to offer inducement for such initiatives in such a way as to strengthen the union--this is my opinion.

Lech Walesa:

Now it's my turn. As you have noticed, today I did not even try to take the floor. For the first time I sense that I am at the KKP. This is also why I used a democratic method of making the decision that everything which has been said here today must appear in toto, together with the names of those persons who said these things, in our publications. Here, for the first time, the KK is the KK. Let the factories see that there is such a commission and that it speaks of important matters. We will stand on our heads to see that everything that is being said today appears in our union papers. And everything we decide here must be implemented. If we work all of this out, then we will finally be something like an organization.

Mieczyslaw Gil:

The union--particularly on the national level, first of all, should not bring about a situation in which large masses of unionists are exempt from thinking. The fact that a real KK has finally gathered and is beginning work does not solve everything. I am afraid that the decisions falling upon the KKP will free our rank and file from the need to think. And when this happens, a schema similar to that which developed and exists in the party will be created. It seems to me that we are beginning to be slowly transformed into an apparatus, and some aktivs are beginning to be like apparatchiks. This is why I asked here, what is the position of the union? Is it that position worked out here by us, at the KKP, or is it the position of the broad masses down below. I believe that most often it is the position of the KKP.

We must introduce a stimulus for awakening the activism of unionists. One of these could be Jacek Kuron's proposal. It is also essential that we poll all the various opinions concerning the activities of the union. We must have an informational mechanism for finding out what our unionists think on a given issue. Most likely we will learn here that we are in favor of self-government, but if we took a pool to learn how many unionists in factories are in favor of self-government, the results would probably be 50/50.

The next concrete matter: the organization of KKP work. It is unthinkable that we should sit here for 3 days in KKP deliberations, while unionists are waiting to hear of our decisions, and as yet we have not worked out this position. I think that we must change our style of working. We ought to be familiarized in advance with the various alternative solutions of matters which arise so that we can make decisions at a subsequent meeting. A union like the autoworkers union in the United States which has its headquarters in Chicago and has built for itself a large building in Washington right near the White House where experts sit, reacting to every twitch of the American government, publishing opinions immediately when something may threaten the union. This American union numbers less than a million members. We number 10 million. As swiftly as possible, we must create a strong administrative apparatus for the union, a strong apparatus of experts who will be paid well for the analyses we will require of them. And we as union aktivs who are in close contact with working forces will merely indicate to them the directions of work. Otherwise we will lose our bearings, and although everything is falling apart in this country, the government still controls the means of information and of disseminating propaganda, and it will get the jump on us in all matters. I am not surprised by J. Rulewski's statement.

If, at this time, the five Reagan advisers with whom I had the opportunity to speak during my visit to the United States came here, they would tell us: No self-governments; we are creating such a principle, we are weighing what we have and a strong executive authority is in control. We must create self-governments, but we must create them after having prepared a broad circle of members of our union. In Krakow we began to create Workers Cooperatives [SR]. In accordance with the statute. Because we must undertake certain initiatives. And we should also think about this in a concrete way. I would like for us to organize seminars for the members of the KKP at which all will speak on the basis of a rich literature and of program discussions. But unlike the deliberations of the KKP, which must be devoted to concrete union matters, they should lead to the solution of a concrete problem.

Aleksander Karczewski
Deputy chairman, ZR, Kutno:

"Do the authorities not wish to function, or can they not?"--such was Kuron's question. He asserted that an administrative breakdown has occurred. I think that there is a big difference between dealing with a paper tiger and dealing with a real tiger which incites conflict. Proof of the fact that both phenomena may occur simultaneously is, for example, the decision of the POLDROB Association which refused to overfulfill the production plans for the Kutno factories, or rather, torpedoed an attempt to produce the surplus amount of food. On the issue of the need for the union to be self-limiting, of which Kuron also spoke, I believe that there is a lack of rational arguments because we do not know what the reaction of our neighbor will be. And here Kuron's statement that time is on our side is an argument which is difficult to understand. It reminds me of the words of Moczulski, but where is Moczulski now? Colleague Palka proposed the idea of an active strike. In my opinion, this is an idea of civil war in a short time. I, on the other hand, think that social discontent caused by hunger is something which can be won. We ought to inform the union as a whole that reform and self-government according to the social concepts of them are an opportunity to end the famine. To this we must add the struggle over the public nature of public life, over open access to public documents. The achievement of this will increase the opportunity

to introduce social concepts into life. But the question remains, will this social concept bring about the intended effect, i.e., a stepped-up and changed production structure. If this does not happen, then it will mean the defeat of the country and of the union. At 5:00 pm there was to have been a protest march in Lutno. This march made society aware that economic reform according to our concepts is our chance.

Jan Strzelecki
Expert, OPS-Z of the KKP, Warsaw:

The word "seminar" used by Mr Gil brings home something very important. That is, the creation of opportunities for thinking that are detached from the current situation and that are free from the pressure of the necessity of preparing resolutions. The congress is before us and that is a situation of life-and-death importance. The congress will summarize what we think about the country, about Solidarity, about the situation following the incredible outburst of hope a year ago, and following the experiences of the past 12 months which served to somehow define these hopes. Today it is not only the country which is in a much worse situation than it was a year ago. I think we are all the more mature for it, although we no longer have such fiery hopes and that clear vision of the future--an unfinished vision--with which we emerged following the strikes.

It is apparent that our partner is decidedly weaker, that our partner does not know how to behave in this situation. This phenomenon may make many of us happy, nonetheless since we do not reach out for authority, but we only aspire, through constant pressure, to somehow program this authority, we cannot aspire to its toppling rapidly. Then we will all be buried under the same rubble. I propose that we should continue discussion on those scenarios which have been outlined here: it is very interesting that colleague Rulewski, who has his own very nice scenario, acknowledged someone in his address, whom I consider to be decidedly a radical, as some sort of compromiser. Rulewski said that Kuron practically wishes to help the authorities. It is evident here how widely our views differ, nonetheless it is worthwhile to state this difference. It is important for us to see among ourselves not only material for future moral-political unity, but also that type of activity which, through this great accord which joins us, is at the same time characterized by the skill to formulate differences, by democratic tolerance and the skill to prepare decisions.

The issues which have been broached in these introductory scenarios will be a very important part of this congress and a very important calling card for us all, as well as our word in the face of public opinion. Opinion awaits what we have to say, but it will not applaud everything we say. Opinion waits for our word to be maximally responsible and maximally relevant. In light of this, let us prepare ourselves for this issue as calmly as possible and in a way that is most responsible and holds the greatest wisdom.

Bronislaw Geremek
Expert, OPS-Z of the KKP, Warsaw:

It has become fashionable to lash out at Rulewski, thus I will permit myself to uphold one important purpose of his speech. Namely, it is the problem of the state.

We must tell ourselves that every step of the way, our union, in its normal activity, will be confronted with how society's sovereignty, the expression of which is the establishment of Solidarity, will change the balance of power in the state. And we cannot forget about this, because it has very practical consequences. The establishment of Solidarity means that a policy of the carrying out of facts is not always enough for us. We likewise are facing the problem of changes in the legal situation; we demand changes in institutions. The issue of workers self-government [samorzad pracownicy] also is of consequence in this area. If we only confronted the task of workers self-government as the single element in need of reform, it would mean that we would also be exposing the Polish economy to the danger of deepening anarchy. But we treat the issue of workers self-government as an element, an instrument of pressure upon the state so that total economic reform may be accomplished, so that state institutions may be changed, and so that the central apparatus of economic management may be changed. For without such change, without a change in the forms and principles of operation of the central apparatus, and thus the state apparatus, it could turn against us. And we must be aware that this is now that fundamental plane of confrontation because the issue touches the state, and the issue touches authority, and those people who have become accustomed to being the proprietors of authority feel directly threatened. The issue of self-government is indicative of the fact that in the wake of our efforts is a change in state institutions. By saying that we do not wish to assume authority, that we are not a political party, we make demands regarding the public life of the state and state institutions. And consequently, we demand changes in legal documents. In all of those documents which do not permit society to act sovereignly. And at this time we have a force, which is the union, which will be able to force a change in the legal situation. A second remark concerning the situation of the union. The congress must show that the union has a program for the country and that the outcome of the congress will be to exhibit a program for saving the country. During this period a special role falls to the KK. This is so because we are taking up the issue of the congress in a situation of the threat of daily confrontation. In a situation of the threat of social tensions from day to day. And we cannot appeal to women not to make hunger marches. We can only consider how to create a climate in which such trust will be possible on credit. The KK has the task of directing the union. Here I would like to support the idea offered by Mr Gil that it is a matter of "initiating tasks." It is the initiation of tasks of the regional factory organizations from below. Today's very enriching KKP meeting must make out a balance for this--the item of union tasks.

Michal Orlicz
Deputy chairman, ZR, Jelenia Gora:

At the beginning we spoke of self-government, and I wanted to speak about it, among other things. They are threatening us with shifting workers soon. They may even surprise us this way during the course of our congress. One can suppose that the authorities are indeed waiting for our congress to make sudden shifts in the plants in order to drive the last nail into our movement. In Jelenia Gora, we arranged to engage two scholars and let them work on the matter. They drew up two documents for us, or in effect three, since this third is an addendum to the first two. The first document is the strategy for changes in employment with respect to our voivodship. The second is the strategy for changes in employment with respect to industrial enterprises. Both are concerned with the position the

union ought to have regarding necessary shifts of workers and the attitude that workers' self-government [samorzad pracownicy] should take toward the same subject if self-government already exists in the plant. They are also concerned with the way in which these two organizations ought to cooperate. Further--they are concerned with determining what authority should belong to the governor, to the provincial board and to the director of the plant. And, what is most important, these documents spell out who, in principle, is to be considered unemployed.

Somehow the KKP sidestepped these issues. That seems very odd to us. Thus, I propose the following: given that the KKP has a great deal of work, let it authorize the ZR in Jelenia Gora to work out a position, to be approved at the next meeting of the KKP and then to be presented to the government. To demonstrate that my words are not groundless, I will read who is to be considered unemployed. It is very interesting.

In the event that a plant lets an employee go and does not offer him a new job, he is paid compensation for 6 months. Such a worker is considered to be looking for work. He retains his rights and employee benefits: his work continuity and vacations, and he is required to present himself once a week at the employment office for the purpose of ascertaining the possibility of further employment. In the event that after 6 months there are no bona fide offers, the given person is considered to be unemployed. The consequences of this to the person are the following: the loss of his rights and employee benefits, the obligation of presenting himself once a week to the employment office, the securing of compensation for the unemployed person and the necessity of his cooperating with the institution that handles the temporary hiring of workers. All of these matters are contained in the above-mentioned documents. The amount of compensation for the unemployed person is also open to suggestion. We have the following initial proposals: from 7 to 12 months, 90 percent of his wages, 13-18 months, 80 percent, beyond 18 months, 60 percent. These are, of course, subject to adjustment. In each of these periods, the compensation may not be less than the social minimum. There are likewise penalties anticipated for nonadherence to this by plants. And so, if you give the ZR in Jelenia Gora the authority, we will employ scholars to work out the appropriate documents for the next KKP meeting.

And now I have several more remarks. I am a worker [robotnik], a "robol" in the popular jargon. I see that many intelligent experts speak here, many intelligent people who are worth listening to. But I cannot agree with the question of my colleague concerning the position we held coming to the KK. Was this determined in consultation with union members? If I do not have the right to make decisions here, and to exercise this mandate by voting, then it is better for me to lay it down. Mr Walesa will take it. He will go to work in the shipyard and we will disperse and the issue will be closed.

And now: how are we to make contact with the union? We cannot make contact by means of Polish Radio and TV, since it is known that we passed over this matter and did not return to it. But we do have one means of the mass media. Our means of the mass media is the union press on which we must keep tight reins. Among other things, we must prevail upon the union press to publish union positions and consultation among members by means of articles and letters to the editor of the union press. But how are we to print this? In an official printshop? I move that we publish the complete texts of everything that can be printed. We are not making use of our union press if Czestochowa prints its bulletins 200 km outside

of town and must have them censored. If I printed the Jelenia Gora bulletin, placing the printshop in a strike situation at every turn, then what kind of work do I get? I see that there are many presses being sent to this country. And again the delegates at the KKP hastily votes to curtail discussion on the subject of printing presses.

Elzbiera Potrykus
Expert, Koszalin:

I am in favor of making broad appeals to society, but I am opposed to an appeal that goes out unsubstantiated. This only makes sense if we give society some sort of reliable perspective for extricating itself from the current tragic situation and a way to avoid conflict or, in the event of conflict, a way for it to extricate itself from the situation as gently as possible. If this is to be only the case with our next appeal, an announcement, then to my way of thinking, it will only be a provocation of society and will increase our authority in no way, but will have the opposite effect. At the end of this discussion we have no concrete solutions for society in the event that a conflict arises. It seems that only colleague Palka has offered several proposals of possible solutions, although I do not know whether they are the best solutions. I continue to believe, as probably does most of society, that Solidarity represents our final hope. And with regard to the Ninth [PZPR] Congress, most people did not believe in its significance for the country. But let us not allow a situation in which people will begin to evaluate Solidarity in the same manner. Professor Geremek stated here that we have a program for saving the country. If there is such a program, then I wish that we could see it as soon as possible. But if we issue any more appeals concerning the creation of something else or any more calls which do not have concrete substantiation in a program of action, then let us rather give concrete thought to our purpose in sending out such an appeal.

Ryszard Kalinowski
Deputy chairman, KKP, Chairman, MKZ, Elblag:

The meeting of today's KK has really been quite productive. We can only wish that in the future deliberations of the KKP, this same type of discussion would take place. As a result of today's discussion, we see that there are controversial issues. One is the union and its program, and the second is the workers self-governments [samorzady pracownicze]. In accordance with the recommendations of J. Rulewski and M. Gil I believe that today we should not make any resolutions, and we should continue our discussion during the next deliberations of the KKP.

Antoni Kopaczewski
Chairman, KKW, chairman, ZR, Rzeszow:

I am in agreement with L. Walesa that today's meeting has been constructive. I believe, however, that it was a mistake to introduce so many subjects. We are already tired. Thus, in the future, please present two or three subjects and discuss these subjects seriously, and not cursorily. And so, we are speaking here of the essence of the union, of the situation within the union, someone makes a comment about printing presses, and the whole thing turns into a general hodge-podge. The self-government issue is basic to the situation both in the country and in the union. Many speeches were contradictory. One basic contradiction,

even among the group of experts, is the statement that the party is weakening alongside the assertion that we do not want authority. If the party is weakening and we are in favor of this, then it is in order to weaken it so that we may assume authority.

And if we believe that we do not want authority, then there is no state in which weak authority is desirable. I understand that in perspective things can happen as they did in Italy, that the government and the parties are changing and there is prosperity in the country. To what does this attest? To the fact that the administration and the provisions of management there are good and in sum it does not matter who stands at the head, the economy continues to function efficiently. The political situation in this country is unusually threatening. There was one error in the address of Z. Bujak. That there is nothing for authority to stand on. I do not agree with this. For we must not underestimate our neighbors. (...) Perhaps there are several variants of the ways to shatter our union movement. And each variant, of course, has its advantage. It was asserted here that time is on our side. It seems to me that this was once true, but for some time now this statement is less and less true. One of these variants is the attempt to wear out society. And it should be known that society is not at all a monolith. If we take a close look at Solidarity itself, maybe 20 percent of its people are ready to brave anything. Let us assume that there are 40 percent who will have to be pushed and the rest will behave passively. (...) We are living in the corresponding geo-political system and we must consider this matter in this way.

It also seems to me that it is the best time to inform society about particular people in the apparatus. And this issue should be presented clearly in the propaganda, that these are not sacred cows and this is not the Queen of England whom we do not have the right to criticize. And the press should do this.

We must view the issue of self-government in conjunction with other problems. Economic reform must be our first priority, wages the next and self-government, the third. If we do not preserve this order, we will wear ourselves out and it will all come to nothing. There must be an order to tasks in the sphere of wages itself. Order must exist in economic activity, otherwise we will lose the issue. And we have examples in our union of our having recommended options in the payment of dues and today we have a mess in this area. I was in Silesia and the accountants themselves are setting up a meeting to work out some sort of working style or some kind of work methods.

Let us take a look at our press. It is a poor press. Why? JEDNOSC [Unity] during the initial period went like hotcakes and today this is no longer so. What is the reason for this? We must work on the reader's psychology. If we offer him long, difficult articles, he will not read them. We also need a little sensationalism.

Ladies and gentlemen, take cognizance of the fact that our union is not at all that strong. Let us pay attention to what our plant commissions are doing. I was down among the rank and file and know that they are acting according to the old way of thinking--desks, telephones and papers scattered everywhere. I went among the work forces and asked if there had been a meeting? No, they answered. I went over to the plant commission and asked how the work force appraised the situation. The plant commission had no answer. It is difficult to go to the people, to find the time, to devote oneself to explaining to these people in a straightforward and

practical way just where matters stand. I think that many of you would be lost if I were to send you out to the work force, the people. There people want things to be concrete, and it is ever more difficult to answer concretely, especially given the current climate in the country. It is also necessary to set up mechanisms for a certain kind of discipline for people who are working in this union. People do not take the elections seriously; they do not bother to look over carefully those whom they will be choosing. But these are not emptyheaded people. Based on our achievements and experiences until now, they will ask us the fundamental question: "You were supposed to settle thus and so many points, how many of them have you seen through?" The work forces will ask us the question: "It's fine for you to throw around the slogan of self-government, but will you see that through to its conclusion?" After all, this involves such a convergence of economic and political factors, and of timing. Cadres, do we have the cadres for it? Cadres have been 30-odd years in preparation, but they are not prepared to run enterprises because they have been deprived of the possibility of risktaking and showing personal initiative. Decisions were always made at the top, and they were merely the relay stations for transmitting these decisions. Hence, here too is a risky situation, for in the world there are schools to train managers of industrial enterprises. How, fundamentally, will one compete with them? Just because Franek is handsome, or someone else was glib? These are extremely difficult matters. Are we strongly enough equipped to convey to the rank and file that they must be willing to take risks? Will they be willing to take risks in the present political climate? Even experts differ in their views, their differences arising from their awareness of the horrendous responsibility involved. An expert can boldly take risks protected by the guarantee of the KK. Then he can really spread his wings. These are truly difficult matters. Everyone is afraid, and we are afraid. What happens if self-government does not work out? We cannot delude ourselves. The union has to accept full responsibility for such a state of affairs. We have to get that into our heads. Let us think now about how this works out in practice. Self-government is accepted in a plant. Let us take, for example, the Rzeszow WSK [Transportation Equipment Plant]. It is the aircraft industry. If we are to do anything intelligent, even with self-government, then we will have to coordinate all the plants from that ministry. That takes a lot of time. Do we have the time? We are so rushed in the present situation that we will make mistakes and then what? Say we have to combine these plants. Calling in experts for help will only be a beginning. A group of people competent to make comprehensive plans for the aircraft industry is needed. There were two such teams in Warsaw, but they were disbanded. Now, we have to call a team together. And I, for example, in talking with a plant director, ask him: "Is there a real possibility that this aircraft plant would take a risk upon itself, secure foreign credit and materials and be capable of going into full production and really beginning to prosper?" He answers: "Sure, I would take the risk, but what worries me most is whether the work force would be willing to take the risk."

8536
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MILITARY OFFICERS COMMENT ON REFORM MOVEMENT

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish 5 Jul 81 p 3

[Interview with Major Marek Jakubowski, secretary of the party committee of the military unit by Stanislaw Dymek: "Concerns and Hopes" date and place not given]

[Text] The building and facilities of an Air Force Regiment are beautifully located amidst old, broad trees. My conversation with the secretary of the unit party committee is accompanied by incessant rustle of firs outside open office window. In the hall there is a growing noise of young voices--the time of next duty briefing is coming.

It will be necessary to discuss matters related to flying, informs the secretary, weather conditions are good.

Major Marek Jakubowski has only recently become the first secretary of the Party Committee and has not yet been able to get fully into the swing of party work. But he understands very well that a PZPR activist must live the life of his group and must know their problems thus, he talks about his unit life and the deterioration of living conditions.

People complain but they work and do their duty. And they cannot imagine that it could be any other way....

I ask what has been happening and what are the results of informational and election meetings of the basic party organizations. These meetings took place in May and brought significant changes of office holders; in a few basic party organizations young men were elected as first secretaries, men known for their energy and daring statements.

For instance, a man like Lieut Henryk Torun, a graduate engineer, says the secretary. A frank and sincere lad, he has been with use for only 3 years and succeeded in being generally appreciated for his professionalism in servicing the equipment and active social life. His election as first secretary of the first squadron is symbolic of the change of generations. His predecessor was one of the oldest and most senior technicians, Warrant Officer Zygmunt Jaslon....

The briefing, which I mentioned before, was short and thanks to this, a few minutes later, I had an opportunity to talk to several other officers. It was a completely free exchange of views on the subject of the current situation in our country and in our party, as the 9th Congress is coming. At a certain moment,

the conversation became so heated, it was taking place in the office of the regimental deputy commander for political affairs, Cpt Jerzy Kazmirski, that they almost completely forgot my presence. From reporter's point of view, this was a most desirable situation and I filled my notebook quickly. I am copying from my notes and asking those who were there to excuse minor errors, should there be any. The subject: the informational-electoral campaign, the 9th Congress, general situation in the country and the living conditions of the cadre.

Capt Jerzy Kazmirski regimental deputy commander for political affairs):
We are living in a heated period before the Congress convenes and, of course, nobody can be indifferent to what is going on in the Party and in the whole country. This applies also to us, soldiers and members of the cadre. There are many things about which we are concerned; for instance, loosening of party discipline and non-conformance to the by-laws. Perhaps, we notice this least in the army. We have tried to conduct meetings and the regimental conference in accordance with the directives of the temporary electoral rules and the requirements of party democracy but it is known how it is at other places.

Lt Henryk Torun (first secretary of the basic party unit in an air squadron):
I am not surprised at our comrades in civilian organizations, not everybody can handle democracy and, besides, there is lack of information, lack of data and one does not know what's what.

Maj Jerzy Grewinski (manager of the garrison club): People quarrel about electoral procedures, how and who to elect and, in this commotion, the most important things are lost sight of....

Cpt Kazmirski: Yes, but intra-party democracy is what we lacked until now, now everybody wants to have his say and demands to be heard. Before, the situation was that there was a leader and the mass of members was in the background, now the masses are in the forefront. I am not thinking about various clubs or structures which want to compete with the party, I am talking about the fact that at long last the voice of comrades from the basic party organizations is being heard and that it matters very much.

Cpt Franciszek Sznitko (senior instructor in the political section): The same can be seen in the army, in our unit. There is a completely different atmosphere today, people talk more freely and more to the point. And when we are talking about renewal in the army, some people do not like this word, it applies first of all to party matters and ideological and moral aspects.

Cpt Krystian Szadkowski, M. D. (senior unit physician): In all this commotion of events and issues, in which we are daily involved we forget it is ordinary people who make up the party, the comrade privates. Are we not overly concerned with the happenings at the top? I am a fairly old party member, I am 34 years old and I have carried a party card since I was 16, but I have never seen such frustration and such divisions. I expect that the Congress will restore party unity and its authority in the society. Common sense must win, there is no need to discuss endlessly the errors of previous leadership when we need a plan of action and definite directions for the future. If we have been thrown in the deep water, we must swim to the shore as fast as we can.

Cpt Kazmirski: I am analyzing the motives of human actions and deeds. I mean opportunism, the efforts to get personal profit at any price, in what caused so much harm to the country and the party. I think we are dealing with a great moral crisis and this is harder to endure than other manifestations of evil and breakdown. This violent flareup of social protest against the life style of some luminaries is just a normal reaction. And, the former first secretary of the party really had great respect in the country. And, it crumbled so fast. That is the way it goes when the words are not backed up by deeds, when they do not correspond to facts. Somebody at the top is guilty but it is the whole party that suffers.

Maj Grewinski: The Army has faithfully served the nation and the party, and it still behaves with dignity, but it has also suffered because of this collapse of authority and values and, if our children are thrown out of kindergartens, if they are trying to take away our living quarters under the pretext that we have it so good, which is obviously rubbish, this unfortunately is also the result of this collapse. It will be very difficult to repair this damage.

Cpt Szadkowski: We have accepted too easily some obvious nonsense, e.g. we have accepted cult of incompetence, such as a minister or another big shot's evaluation of various economic culture or social areas, while knowing that he knew well, only one thing if that. If I, a physician, were to evaluate a pilot's work, I would be laughed out. But in the past things like that happened. The whole society is responsible....

Cpt Kazmirski: I would not blame the whole society.

Cpt Szadkowski: Just a moment!

Capt Kazmirski: I think that principally we have neglected the field of education. Every kind of education. Sure, example plays an important role, every stupidity wreaks havoc, but the society could not have lost its mind overnight, this was a slow process. We have not shown the best models to our youth, our propaganda has been slow and crude, they neglected the teaching of history in schools. But the republics are as good as the education of their youth. Despite all this, our people are good and really patient. Look at the lines in front of the stores, look at the clam with which people accept the current supply situation.

Capt Szadkowski: People are patient and partially disoriented and, unfortunately, the press contributes to this disorientation. We have a representative of the press here but this remark does not apply to the military publications. The point is that first the errors are magnified, personal sensations are sought out and then they write about economic problems in a manner that causes people to lose their heads. As if the end of the world were coming tomorrow. The point is that people should be shown some prospects for the future, some solutions to the situation we are in. (The undersigned agrees with this fully).

Maj Grewinski: I would like to analyze the causes of anti-Soviet manifestations. I do not know whether people stop to think how serious this matter and how grave the damage could be. Possibly, the reason is that the Polish-Soviet relationship used to be presented in too naive a manner, omitting "inconvenient" aspects and, today, our adversaries take advantage of this by making "sensational" discoveries while there is no proper counter-action....

Cpt Szadkowski: I have another rock to throw into the garden of our guest or rather his colleagues' from the civilian press. Anti-Sovietism, even in its vestigial form, under the current circumstances amounts to total irresponsibility and provocation. No doubt, this is also the result of errors in education, inability to sell internationalism and inability to show the benefits of Soviet-Polish cooperation. For the same reason, some youngsters, including college students, are sporting the "EA" signs, i.e. "anti-socialist element." What the youth organizations do? What the parents say? Can everything be explained by stupidity?

Maj Grewinski: Many party members have no concept of ideological combat and do not even know the basics of Marxism. Hence, every political crisis affects attitudes. I am observing at close range the training at one of the evening universities of Marxism-Leninism. What level of education can you expect when the instructor knows little more than the student? Couldn't the genuine scholars and lecturers be used?

Cpt Szadkowski: Again about the army matters, because this is what is on my mind. If they say that we have it so good, then why do so few young people choose the military profession? Perhaps, once upon the time we had decent pay, but today? What we get is just average and sometime less than that. We did not know how to take advantage of one thing, namely that the army has always come to the rescue; this taught people to take it easy and to seek help even when it was not really necessary. What did we get in return? What are we getting today? How much of this is plain ingratitude?

Capt Kazmirski: There is a lot to be done in the army to build up the authority of the commander, adherence to regulations and moral code. Sometimes people's work and efforts are overlooked. It is said that a soldier has to look like one. But I think that a soldier ought to be a good soldier first and foremost. Also, a lot could be said about bureaucracy and unnecessary reporting requirements but this probably does not interest our guest. We were supposed to talk about party matters and we are talking about everything.

The undersigned believes that there are no separate party and duty matters. Especially in the army. The concern about common matters is a common concern. And also, common are the hopes for an improvement of the situation.

8801
CSO: 2600/291

'TANJUG' REPORTS ON TETOVO SAWP PRESIDIUM SESSION

LD152312 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1807 GMT 15 Oct 81

[Text] Tetovo, 15 Oct (Tanjug)--The Presidium of the municipal conference of the SAWP of Tetovo today held an enlarged session to discuss the report on the implementation of tasks connected with the political and security situation in this multinational municipality. In his introductory report, President of the conference Hidzet Ramadani, observed that the enemy in the Tetovo Municipality had been for some time continuously working from the positions of greater-Albania nationalism and irredentism, especially in the educational field. He pointed out that individual educational workers, who were sentenced for participating in the hostile demonstrations in Tetovo in 1968, succeeded in reentering the educational process.

Various nationalist attacks, ranging from irredentist slogans and texts, distribution of hostile leaflets, desacration or removal of Comrade Tito's pictures, misuse of Albanian flags and symbols and the wearing of white caps, took place in the Kiril Pejcinovic gymnasium, the secondary medical school, Zitkovica, Golemma Recica, Dolno Palciste, Semsovo and Kamenjane as well as in individual cultural-artistic and sports associations and other environments which were denounced as hotbeds of hostile activity and where ideopolitical differentiation is under way.

The report and the discussion positively assessed the present activity and measures undertaken to prevent hostile activities in the Tetovo Municipality--about which several concrete details were presented. The increased and constant ideopolitical activity in the Tetovo Municipality (there were over 500 meetings of the working people and citizens) greatly narrowed the room for hostile activity, so that it was assessed that the political and security situation in the Tetovo Municipality was characterized by signs of considerable improvement.

The session pointed out the need for furhter deepening of the ideopolitical differentiation, especially in the environments which have been denounced as hotbeds of hostile activity in the spring months, and for continuing the ideopolitical activity in all environments in this municipality.

At today's enlarged session, the municipal conference of the socialist alliance in Tetov adopted the Presidium's proposal to expel: Daut Ibraimi and Nadire Ljutvilu from the conference membership for their activity from the positions of greater-Albanian nationalism and irredentism.

CSO: 2800/46

BRIEFS

KICEVO MEETING--The Committee of the Municipal Conference of the League of Communists of Macedonia in Kicevo held a meeting last night at which it assessed that the measures taken against the recent phenomena of nationalism and irredentism in the municipality were timely and successful. The hotbeds of hostile activity have been uncovered. Ideoeducational measures were taken against 18 people in the educational field, while judicial measures were taken against 25 citizens who made verbal attacks from positions of nationalism and irredentism. [Excerpt] [LD030138 Belgrade Tanjug Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1221 GMT 2 Oct 81]

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